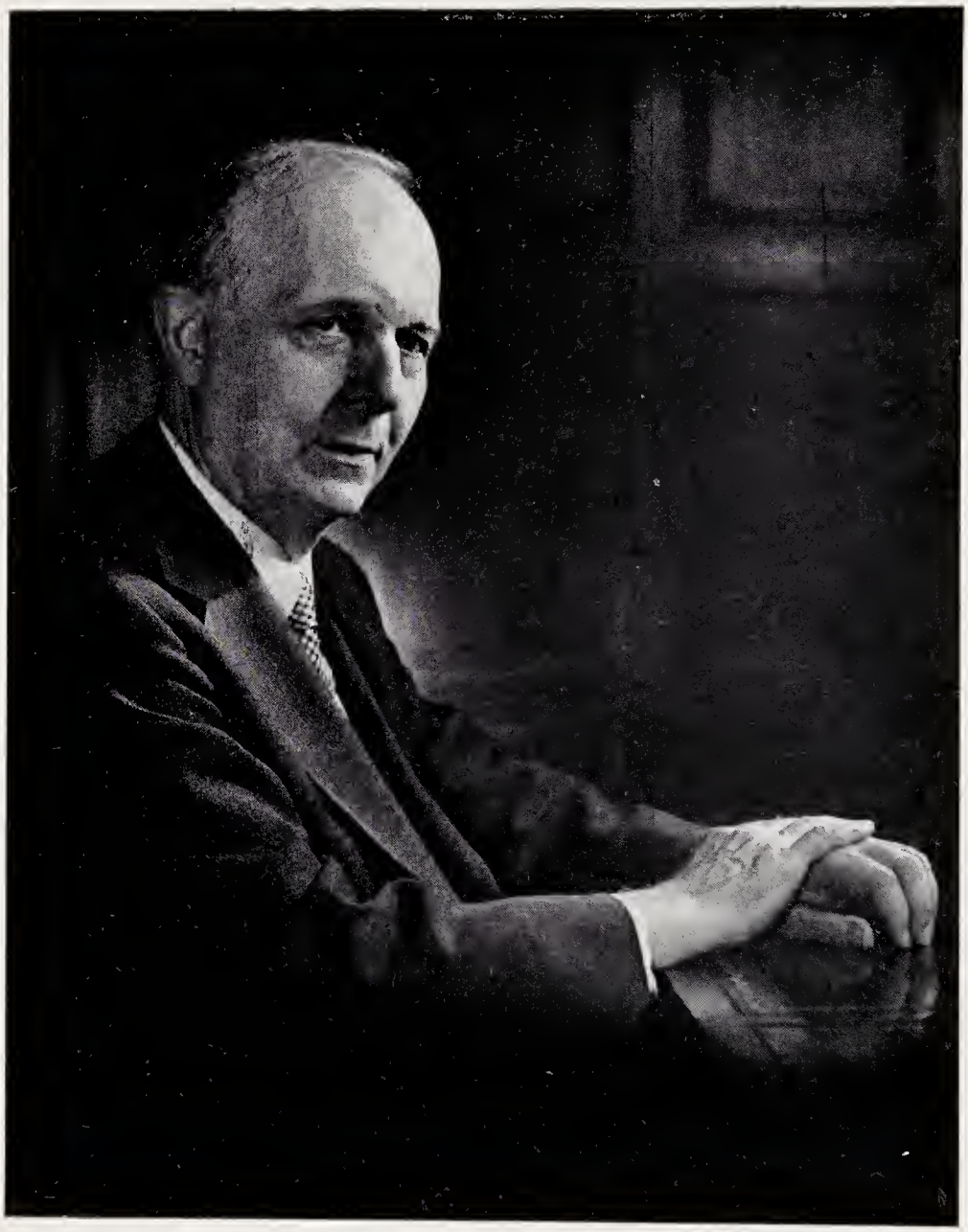

WERNER JAEGER

FIVE ESSAYS

translated by
Adele M. Fiske, R. S. C. J.

With a Bibliography of Werner Jaeger
prepared by Herbert Bloch

MARIO CASALINI LTD.
MONTREAL

PA9 .J29

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Montreal 25, P.Q., Canada

PREFACE

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Werner Jaeger was more than a philologist; he was a philosopher as described by Gregory of Nyssa when he asks: "What is it to be a true philosopher, a lover of wisdom? It is to be great in one's work and humble of heart." This small volume is intended as a tribute of affectionate gratitude from Manhattanville College, its faculty and students, to the great man whose warmth and friendliness made a golden age of the years during which he so often came to our campus. Knowing how much communication meant to him, we hope that in this book his voice will still make itself heard, especially to those less likely to read his German writings, and thus he will continue to share with an even larger audience the stored-up treasures which he described as "a slowly acquired personal experience . . . enriching itself year after year in constant intercourse with the texts, always present to one's inner consciousness yet never wholly expressible in written form."

He himself regarded the edition of Gregory of Nyssa as his most lasting contribution to scholarship in the twentieth century, although his work on Aristotle produced what amounts to a revolution in our thinking about one of the greatest philosophers of all time. His *Paideia, the Ideals of Greek Culture*, has also been far-reaching in influence; like the monumental edition of Gregory it was left unfinished — "a torso," as he would say — although his last short book, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, outlined the substance of his complete thought. The complex web of intuition, research and synthesis behind this work was a lifelong process in which all his work and experience grew along with him. Even as a boy he had begun to live an

"extraordinary union of reverence and independence, of involvement with, yet freedom from the forms and creations of history, of eager love of the world, yet meditative detachment from it." (J. H. Finley's address, October 22, 1961, Memorial Church of Harvard University.) He was preoccupied with continuity, the civilizing continuity in which Hellenism and Christianity flow together into today's world; he was able to hold together, as few men can, the Hellenic *paideia* and what he came to call the *paideia* of Christ. His approach to ancient civilization was dominated by a vision of a civilizing humanism that unites men, freeing them from the limits of time and nation, in his concentrated effort to understand the nature of "that after-effect of Greek and Roman antiquity which we call the 'classical tradition'." Unless there is a permanent value for humanity in the ancient concept of man, he felt, classical scholarship exists in a void. His own work was a concrete response to the crisis facing our humanistic tradition; he felt deeply that "promethean urge to fashion men," which comes to us from antiquity.

In this book five articles by Werner Jaeger are made available in English for the first time: three autobiographical papers and two philological studies. The former include personal reminiscences of childhood, found in longhand among his papers after his death and here first printed in German and English. The survey of classical philology at the University of Berlin from 1870 to 1945 describes the development in which Jaeger himself and his immediate teachers played so important a part, and forms a bridge between the autobiographical fragment and the "intellectual autobiography" that he wrote as introduction to the *Scripta Minora*. Together, these three papers bring to life a vanished world of Olympian figures among whom the author early took a place. The second group of writings, the great articles on Solon and Tyrtaeus, supplement the portrait of the growth of the man in his environment by allowing us to see "the philologist at work." Professor Jaeger himself said that, beside the chapters on Homer in the *Paideia*, the articles on Solon and Tyrtaeus are the most characteristic of his way of conceiving the treatment of ancient Greek poetry. They

will keep their value for a long time to come. In addition to the articles, this volume contains a bibliography of Werner Jaeger's publications, revised and brought up to date by Professor Herbert Bloch of Harvard University, with the addition of a detailed plan of the complete edition of Gregory of Nyssa by the late Professor Hermann Langerbeck. These two will be for scholars the most significant part of the book, providing information unavailable elsewhere.

The choice of articles had in part been already sanctioned by Professor Jaeger; he had looked over the "Solon" and the "Introduction," and planned a critical reading of the translations for his proposed visit to Manhattanville in October, 1961, the week of his sudden death. It was then that, with the wise guidance and generous assistance of Professor Herbert Bloch of Harvard University, the other papers were chosen and the bibliography added. Professor Bloch also found the interesting pages of the autobiographical fragment and advised their publication here in German and English. It is due to his untiring interest and painstaking labor that this publication is possible.

We are also indebted to Mrs. Jaeger for her approval of the project. Professor Thomas G. Rosenmeyer of the University of Washington has given the translations final revision, a laborious and time-consuming task performed with great kindness and courtesy. What is good in the book is his — any defects and errors are mine. We are also grateful to Miss Vera Lachmann of Brooklyn College and Mr. Peter R. Mayer for their aid and to Professor Gerard C. Thormann of Manhattanville College and Mrs. Charlotte Thormann for their transcription of the handwritten text of the fragment. Not least are we indebted to Mrs. C. Theodore Soderberg for her secretarial aid. Finally we must express our deep appreciation of Mr. Mario Casalini's interest in publishing this book and his patience in waiting for final revisions, thus helping to pay tribute to a revered mutual friend.

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ENTWÜRFE ZU LEBENSERINNERUNGEN (ANFANG)

NOTES TOWARDS AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: THE BEGINNINGS

Previously unpublished autobiographical fragment in longhand, found among the papers of Werner Jaeger.

1.

ENTWÜRFE ZU LEBENSERINNERUNG (ANFANG)

Meine Heimat ist der Niederrhein, das Land zwischen Rhein und Maas; mein Geburtsort, den ich nach dem Tode meines Vaters mit meiner verwitweten Mutter erst im Alter von 21 Jahren verliess, ist Lobberich, eine kleine Stadt nahe der holländischen Grenzstadt Venlo. Die Zahl ihrer Einwohner war damals über 7000 und ist durch die Menge der aus dem deutschen Osten hereinströmenden Flüchtlinge heute nach dem zweiten Weltkriege auf mehr als die doppelte Zahl gestiegen. Um die Zeit meiner Geburt war der Ort und der ganze Niederrhein fast ganz katholisch, was sich infolge der Unterbringung der Ostflüchtlinge in dem Westen Deutschlands heute stark geändert hat. Lobberich hat jetzt eine grosse protestantische Gemeinde, ihre Anfänge gehen in die Zeit meiner Jugend zurück, die im Zeichen dieser Entwicklung stand.

Die Frage der Religion war seit jeher im Leben der Bevölkerung von entscheidender Wichtigkeit, mit ihr verglichen spielte der Staat durchaus die zweite Rolle. Er hatte sein Zentrum im preussischen Osten, in Berlin; man zahlte an ihn Steuern, und die jungen Männer kamen durch ihre militärische Dienstpflicht mit ihm in Berührung. Die rheinischen Besitzungen Brandenburg-Preussens gingen zurück auf die Zeit, als diese Lande teils durch Erbfolgeverträge ihrer Herzöge mit brandenburgischen Kurfürsten, teils durch Ankauf von Spanien politisch an die Hohenzollern kamen. Mein Landstrich gehörte zum sogenannten Oberquartier Geldern, das nach dem Abfall der kalvinistisch gewordenen Niederlande von Spanien sich von Holland trennte und bis

NOTES TOWARDS AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: THE BEGINNINGS

My homeland is the lower Rhineland, between the Rhine and the Meuse; my birthplace is Lobberich, a little town near Venlo, a border city of the Netherlands, which I did not leave until the age of 21 when, after my father's death, my widowed mother and I moved away. The inhabitants at that time numbered over 7000 and today this number is more than doubled due to the large influx of refugees from Eastern Germany after the second world war. At the time of my birth the town and the whole lower Rhineland were almost entirely Catholic; this situation has changed sharply because of the eastern refugees who settled in West Germany. The large Protestant community now in Lobberich dates from the time of my youth, and its development influenced me.

In the life of the inhabitants of the area, the question of religion has always been a matter of decisive importance, in comparison with which the State played a relatively minor role. The latter was centered in the Prussian East, in Berlin; people paid taxes to it and the young men came in contact with it when they served their time as soldiers. The Rhenish possessions of Brandenburg-Prussia date back to the time when these districts became the possession of the Hohenzollerns partly through treaties of succession negotiated by their dukes with the electors of Brandenburg and partly through purchase from Spain. My province belonged to the so-called upper district of Geldern, which, after the Netherlands had turned Calvinist and revolted against Spain, broke

zum Frieden von Utrecht bei Spanien blieb. Es war seither ein Teil der preussischen Monarchie mit Ausnahme nur der Jahre seit seiner Einverleibung in das Reich Napoleons bis zum Wiener Frieden 1815, durch den es wieder an Preussen kam.

Ein eigenes staatliches Leben hatte das stille Land nicht entwickelt, seine soziale und politische Struktur empfing das öffentliche Leben als Teil der Kirche, der grossen Gemeinschaft und ihrer Organisation. Wenn der Bischof von Münster seine Diözese besuchte und in grosser Prozession der berittenen Bauernsöhne und zu Fuss schreitenden Gläubigen in Lobberich seinen Einzug hielt, wurde in jedem Haus die Fahne gehisst, um den Herrscher der Kirche zu grüssen, und die Fahne, die einzige, die man besass, war die kirchliche rot-weisse. Eine andere gab es auch unter dem 1870 gegründeten deutschen Reich nicht mit Ausnahme weniger Neubürger, die, durchweg von ausserhalb zugezogen, die schwarz-weiss-rote Fahne aufpflanzten und zu dem neuen Staate in patriotischem Gefühl aufschauten. Die Mehrzahl der Bevölkerung teilte diese Empfindung, die sich in die herrschende kirchliche Lebensform als ein neues Element einfügte, doch ohne sich jemals geradezu als 'Preussen' zu fühlen. Man zollte dem Monarchen den schuldigen Tribut, dazu kam persönliche Verehrung gegenüber den beiden ersten Kaisern. Aber man blieb doch mehr Objekt der preussischen Verwaltung, als dass man sich begeisterter Träger dieser Staatsidee fühlte. Seit dem Bismarckschen Kulturkampf gegen die Kirche kühlte sich die neue Staatsfreudigkeit bald völlig ab, und diese Widerstandsgesinnung lebte noch lange nach Beendigung dieser Kämpfe nach. An den Paroxysmen des Staatskultus, die später in vielen Teilen Deutschlands weithin Anklang fanden, hat diese niederrheinische Landschaft wenig Freude gehabt. Zur Zeit meiner Jugend wurde der ideelle Zusammenhang des Volkes mit dem Staate vor allem durch das, was die Volkschule den Kindern als preussisches Geschichtsbild einprägte, in zweiter Linie durch das Kriegervereinswesen und das Reserveoffizierkorps der Armee aufrecht erhalten. Aber im Grunde blieb die gültige innere und äussere Lebensform die kirch-

away from Holland, remaining with Spain down to the Peace of Utrecht. It formed part of the Kingdom of Prussia save for the years between its incorporation into Napoleon's empire and 1815, when the Treaty of Vienna returned it once more to Prussia.

This peaceful land did not develop a political life of its own; its public life took social and political structure as part of the great community and organization of the Church. When the bishop of Münster visited his diocese and entered Lobberich with a great procession of peasants on horseback and the faithful walking on foot, every house displayed its flag to welcome the prince of the church. There was only one flag, the ecclesiastical red and white. Even under the German Empire, founded in 1870, there was no other, except for a few new-comers from other parts of Germany who raised the black white and red flag and were filled with patriotic respect for the new state. The majority of the inhabitants shared this sentiment, which entered as a new element into the predominately ecclesiastical pattern of life, yet without ever thinking of themselves as true Prussians. They paid the monarch their due, and in fact felt deep respect for the persons of the first two emperors. But it was more a matter of being subject to Prussian administration than of considering oneself an enthusiastic supporter of the new imperial idea. Soon after Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* against the Church, the new interest in the state grew very cool, and this resistance lived on long after the termination of those conflicts. The lower Rhineland took little joy in the paroxysms of state-cult which later found ready acceptance in many parts of Germany. In the time of my youth, the people's unity of spirit with the state was maintained principally through the historical picture of Prussia impressed on children by the elementary schools and also through the veterans' clubs and the Reserve-Corps of army officers. The fundamental pattern of life and way of thinking, however, continued to be

lich-religiöse des späten Mittelalters, das hier ungebrochen fortlebte. Auf der Koexistenz dieser beiden grundverschiedenen Formen der Paideia beruhte unser Leben.

Meine Vorfahren stammten nicht aus dieser Welt des Niederrheins. Die Grosseltern väterlicherseits waren beide Hessen und protestantisch, der Grossvater August Jaeger war in Darmstadt, die Grossmutter Johanna, geborene Wallenfels, in Giessen geboren. Die Eltern meiner Mutter, Johann Ludwig Birschel und Pauline, geborene Faulenbach, stammten aus Barmen im Wuppertal, einer Hochburg des rheinischen Protestantismus, wo ich als Knabe die Hausfrauen noch "Lobe den Herren" und "Ein' feste Burg" beim Waschen ihrer ohnehin schon so blanken Fenster singen hörte. Die Jaegerschen Grosseltern hatten früher schon am Niederrhein gewohnt, denn mein Vater war in Dülken geboren, aber ihr weiteres Leben hatte sich hauptsächlich in Süddeutschland abgespielt, erst in Emmendingen bei Freiburg i. Br. und dann in Dillingen an der Donau, wo der Grossvater Direktor einer Spinnerei war. Als er sich zur Ruhe setzte, kehrte er an den Niederrhein zurück und nahm Wohnung in Lobberich. Dort trafen die Jaegers mit der Familie meiner Mutter zusammen. Der Grossvater Birschel gehörte einer kinderreichen Familie an; ein Bruder war nach Australien ausgewandert, wo seine Nachkommen noch jetzt in Sidney leben, ein anderer ging nach England; dessen Sohn war Lewis Birschel, der der zu Haus gebliebenen Familie stets treu anhing und uns von Liverpool aus oft besuchte. Mein Grossvater Johann Ludwig Birschel zeigte zeitlebens dieselbe Wanderlust, blieb aber im Lande. Da er in seinem Beruf als Kaufmann in Barmen-Elberfeld (die jetzt zu einer einzigen Stadt 'Wuppertal' vereinigt sind) kein Glück hatte, so verliess er seine Heimat das "bergische Land". Er liess sich durch die plötzlich in den 1860er Jahren am Niederrhein aufblühende Textilindustrie nach Lobberich ziehen und fand in ihr eine hochangesehene Lebensstellung.

Es war der geschichtliche Wendepunkt im wirtschaftlichen Leben Lobberichs gewesen, als der Entdecker des mechanischen Webstuhls, Karl Niedieck, aus dem nahen Krefeld, dem deutschen Lyon, nach meinem ländlichen Geburtsort

that of the ecclesiastical culture of the late Middle Ages surviving here unbroken. Our life was based on the co-existence of those two fundamentally different forms of *Paideia*.

My ancestors did not come from this world of the lower Rhine. My paternal grandparents were both Hessian and Protestant; my grandfather, August Jaeger, was born in Darmstadt, my grandmother Johanna, née Wallenfels, in Giessen. My mother's parents, Johann Ludwig Birschel and Pauline, née Faulenbach, came from Barmen-Wuppertal, a stronghold of Rhenish Protestantism, where as a boy I heard the house-wives sing "Praise to the Lord," and "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," as they washed their already spotless windows. The Jaeger grandparents had once lived in the Rhineland for my father was born in Dülken but most of their life was spent in southern Germany, first in Emmendingen near Freiburg in Breisgau, and then in Dillingen on the Danube where my grandfather was manager of a textile factory. When he retired, he returned to the lower Rhineland and lived in Lobberich. There the Jaegers met my mother's family. Grandfather Birschel belonged to a large family; one brother had emigrated to Australia, where his descendents still live in Sidney; another went to England and his son, Lewis Birschel, remained always closely attached to his relatives in Germany and often came from Liverpool to visit us. Although all his life long my grandfather Johann Ludwig Birschel had the same wanderlust, he stayed in his own land. As a merchant in Barmen-Elberfeld (these cities now form one city, 'Wuppertal') my grandfather had no luck in his business career, so he left his home in the "bergische Land." He was attracted to Lobberich by the sudden expansion of the textile industry in the lower Rhineland during the 1860's and there found a highly respected position.

The historical turning point in the economic life of Lobberich came when the inventor of the machine loom, Karl Niedieck, moved from nearby Krefeld, the German Lyons,

übergesiedelt war, wo billigere Arbeitslöhne die Aussicht auf eine gewinnreiche mächtige Ausdehnung der neuen Industrie eröffneten. Der Zuzug zahlreicher Arbeiter und Angestellten vermehrte die Zahl der Bevölkerung bald um Tausende. Nur das alteingesessene bäuerliche Element erhielt sich von der neuen Industrie unabhängig. Diese Entwicklung erreichte einen Höhepunkt in meiner Jugend. Ich beurteilte freilich die Spitzen dieser neu entstandenen Gesellschaft hauptsächlich nach ihren schönen Pferden, die ich oft besuchte und alle mit Namen kannte, was mir die Freundschaft der Kutscher und Stallknechte verschaffte. Ich erinnere mich, dass in der prachtliebenden zweiten Generation der neuen Industrieherren das Volk ab und zu das Schauspiel genoss, wie der hochgewachsene Sohn des weisshaarigen alten Gründers der Weltfirma mit einem Schimmelgespann *à la Domon* durch die Strassen fuhr und ich mir sagte, dass das die Neidgrenze erheblich überschreiten musste, ähnlich wie der Chor in der griechischen Tragödie zu singen pflegt. Es gab in der Mitte des Dorfes, das nun schon eine richtige Stadt geworden war, ein aus dem Mittelalter stammendes kleines Schloss (ein Kasteel sagten wir auf plattdeutsch wie im nahen Holland); es hatte dem ritterlichen Geschlecht derer von Bocholt gehört, an das auch eine hochragende Burgruine Bocholt ausserhalb des Dorfes erinnerte. Nach dem Aussterben dieser adligen Linie hatte der Besitzer des Kasteels und des Parks, der es geheimnisvoll umgab, mehrmals gewechselt, bis der Textilkönig des neuen Industrieadels es erwarb, wie es dem Zug der Zeit entsprach, den man in U.S.A. die industrial revolution nennt. Um den stillen Teich dieses Hains wanderte oft unter den schattigen hohen Bäumen das Burgfräulein, die mittelalterliche, unverheiratet gebliebene Tochter mit ihrer Gesellschafterin in langsamem Schritt, dem Betrachter unnahbar. Wir Kinder versuchten vergebens unsere viel zu grossen Köpfe durch das eiserne Gitter der uns trennenden niedrigen Mauer zu zwängen, aber den Garten zu betreten war uns nicht gestattet. Nachdem sich inzwischen das Gesetz der tragischen Trilogie an der dritten Generation dieser Dynastie erfüllt hat, ist das alte Schlösschen zum Hotel geworden, und von ihm aus

to my rustic birthplace, where cheaper wages offered the prospect of a lucrative and unlimited expansion of the new industry. The influx of many workers and employees soon increased the number of inhabitants by the thousands. Only the old established peasant element kept aloof from the new industry. This development reached a high point in my youth. For myself, I judged the pillars of the new society chiefly by their handsome horses which I often visited and knew by name. This established friendly contacts with coachmen and stableboys. I remember how the ostentatious second generation of this new industrial gentry entertained the people now and then with a spectacle such as seeing the tall son of the white-haired old founder of an internationally known firm drive his pair of greys through the streets [à la Domon][1]. Like the chorus in a Greek tragedy I would say to myself that this went beyond what can be endured without resentment. In the middle of the village, that had by now grown into a real city, stood a little castle (a *Kasteel*, as we called it in our low-German dialect, as in nearby Holland) dating from the Middle Ages; it had belonged to the Knights of von Bocholt, who were commemorated also by a towering ruin, Bocholt, outside the village. After the extinction of this noble line, the *Kasteel* and the park which surrounded it with mystery changed owners several times until it was bought by the textile king of the new industrial nobility; this was in keeping with the trend of the times, the Industrial Revolution, as it is called in the United States. At the borders of the castle's quiet pool, the chatelaine, a middle-aged unmarried daughter, could often be seen sauntering slowly with her lady companion under the shade of the tall trees, unapproachable by spectators. We children tried in vain to push our much-too-big heads through the iron bars of the low wall that kept us out, but we were not allowed to enter the garden. Now that the law of the tragic trilogy has been brought to pass in the dynasty's third generation, the old castle has become a hotel which I have recently visited

[1] This phrase may be derived from the French "coaches à la Daumant". Cf. Henri Guillemin, *Le Coup du 2 décembre* (Paris : Gallimard, 1951), p. 447. [Translator's note].

konnte ich bei neuerlichen Besuchen den Park schliesslich doch noch vor meinem Tode von innen beschauen. Aber hinter dieser beschaulichen Ansicht der Dinge liegen Menschenschicksale verborgen, die hier nicht zu berichten sind. Eine uralte Frau, die es alles in seiner rein menschlichen Tragik miterlebt hatte, erzählte mir die Geschichte, die sich inzwischen abgespielt hatte, als ich nach vieljähriger Abwesenheit zurückkehrte, um die Gräber der Meinen zu besuchen, und ihr dort begegnete. Sie hatte mich sogleich erkannt.

Doch zurück zu den glücklichen Jahren des wirtschaftlichen Fortschritts seit der Zeit meiner Geburt (1888) bis zur Jahrhundertwende. Ich war das einzige Kind meiner Eltern, Karl August Jaeger und Helene, geb. Birschel. An den väterlichen Grossvater habe ich keine Erinnerung mehr, obwohl er in seinen Mussestunden oft geduldig mit mir gespielt hat und mich ergötzte, indem er Kartenhäuser für mich baute; die Lithographie, die er zu seiner eigenen Unterhaltung noch während seines Ruhestandes aufgemacht hatte, lieferte dafür das unerschöpfliche Papiermaterial. Nach seinem Tode zog die Grossmutter Jaeger nach Freiburg i. Br. zu ihrer jüngsten Tochter Auguste und deren Manne, Emil Göhring, der eine Ölfabrik betrieb und später Abgeordneter im badischen Landtag war. Ich lernte ihn erst später kennen. Um so wichtiger war für unser Leben der Umstand, dass die Grosseltern mütterlicherseits bis zu ihrem Tode am Orte sesshaft blieben. An die Grossmutter habe ich sehr bestimmte Erinnerungen; sie starb früh, als ich acht Jahre alt war, den Grossvater behielt ich bis ich achtzehn war und als erstes Semester in Marburg studierte. Aber beider Einfluss auf meine Entwicklung war bedeutend. Aus dem Wuppertal brachten sie an den katholischen Niederrhein das Erbe des in Barmen und Elberfeld seit langen Jahren wurzelständigen Protestantismus mit. Er nahm beim Grossvater, der ganz unpolitisch und unkirchlich war, die Form der Aufklärung an. In seinen geschäftlichen Beruf passte er eigentlich schlecht. Was ihm daran zusagte, waren die weiten Reisen, die er im Interesse seiner Firma zu unternehmen hatte und ihn Welt und Menschen kennen lehrten. Er

and from which now at last before my death I have been able to see the inside of the park. This picturesque view, however, hides human destinies which cannot be told here. A very old woman, who had experienced it all at first hand in its sheer human tragedy, told me the story of what had happened, when after many years of absence I returned to visit the graves of my family and chanced to meet her there. She recognized me at once.

However, back to the prosperous years of economic progress from the time of my birth (1888) to the turn of the century. I was the only child of my parents, Karl August Jaeger and Helene, née Birschel. I have no memory of my paternal grandfather although often in his leisure hours he played patiently with me and built houses of cards for my amusement. Lithography, which was his hobby during his retirement, provided him with an inexhaustible supply of paper for these games. After his death, grandmother Jaeger moved to Freiburg in Breisgau to join her youngest daughter, Auguste, and her husband, Emil Goehring, who was manager of an oil-processing plant and was later elected deputy in the provincial Diet of Baden. I only came to know him in later years. More important for our life was the fact that my maternal grandparents lived until their death in the same town as we did. I have a very distinct recollection of my grandmother, although she died young, when I was eight years old; my grandfather lived until I was eighteen and a first year student at the University of Marburg. Both of them, however, had a significant influence on my development. From Wuppertal, Barmen and Elberfeld, they brought with them to the Catholic lower Rhineland the age-old, deeply rooted legacy of their Protestant faith. In my grandfather, who was entirely non-political and non-church-going, this took the form of an enlightened outlook. He was not really suited for business. What he did like was the extensive journeys which he had to undertake in the interests of his firm and which taught him to know the world and

machte auf diesen monatelangen Reisen die grossen Abschlüsse, dabei kam ihm seine ungewöhnliche Kenntnis moderner Sprachen zustatten, des Französischen und vor allem des Englischen, die er zeitlebens durch Lektüre der modernen Literaturen mit wissenschaftlicher Gründlichkeit ausbaute. Aber auch mit dem Holländischen und Italienischen hatte er sich ernsthaft beschäftigt. Er war als richtiger Deutscher jener Biedermeierzeit, an die die schönen alten Mahagonimöbel im grosselterlichen Hause erinnerten, im Grunde ein Gelehrter, als solcher einzig in der Familie, und von gelehrter Beschaulichkeit der Lebensführung. Wenn er zu Hause war und nicht auf seinen Reisen, sass er spät nachmittags und abends bei seinem Glase Moselwein, zu dem er mich als Sechzehnjährigen stets einlud, wenn ich zu meinem fast täglichen Besuch bei ihm erschien. Die lange Pfeife ruhte auf dem Fussboden auf, und während er Rauchwolken vor sich hinblies, las er stundenlang und mit grosser Regelmässigkeit seinen englischen Roman. Das war seine Welt, aber von der sprach er nicht. Er l e b t e nur in ihr. Alle französischen und englischen Autoren aus der Mitte des 19ten Jahrhunderts zieren noch heute meine Bücherbretter: ich erbte sie nach seinem Tode, und meine jüngste Tochter Therese hat sie fast alle gelesen und an ihnen ihre Kenntnis der Menschen bereichert. Ich selbst bin erst im Alter dazu gelangt mit Ausnahme des Dickens, den ich sehr viel früher las. Mich fesselten mehr des Grossvaters geschichtliche und medizinische Werke, die ich schon vor seinem Tode meiner Bibliothek einverleibte, darunter das Buffonsche grosse Werk über die Tierwelt, in französischer und deutscher Sprache, wie man in der Mitte des 19ten Jahrhunderts so etwas noch druckte. Die herrlichen Abbildungsbände habe ich schon als Kind fleissig betrachtet, wobei ich darauf bestand, dass meine Mutter mir die lateinischen Namen der Tiere vorlas. Ich kannte sie meistens schon auswendig, als man mich zum erstenmal in den zoologischen Garten zu Köln mitnahm. Dass diese Namen lateinisch waren, wusste ich nicht, und es hätte mir auch wenig geholfen; ich bestand nur darauf, genau das zu lernen, was unter jedem der Bilder stand, und zwar die schön-

men. During these month-long trips, he transacted important business deals, for which his unusual knowledge of modern languages proved useful. He knew French and especially English in which he continued to progress throughout his life by reading modern literature with scholarly thoroughness. He had also made a serious study of Dutch and Italian. Like so many Germans of that "Biedermeier" age, commemorated by the beautiful old mahogany furniture in my grandparents' home, he was fundamentally a scholar, the only one in the family, and led a life of scholarly contemplation. When he was at home and not on his travels, he used to sit, in the late afternoons and evenings, with his glass of Moselle which he always invited me to share with him when, as a sixteen-year-old boy I paid him my almost daily visit. His long pipe rested on the floor and while for long hours and with great regularity he puffed out clouds of smoke, he read his English novel. It was his world, but he did not speak about it. He only lived in it. All the mid-nineteenth century French and English authors adorn my book shelves to this day. After his death I inherited them and my youngest daughter, Therese, read most of them, thus enriching her understanding of life. I myself turned to them only in my old age, except for Dickens whom I read much earlier. My grandfather's historical and medical books had more attraction for me, and I incorporated them into my library even before his death, among them the great work of Buffon on Natural History, in a French and German edition of the kind still printed in the middle of the nineteenth century. As a child I had already diligently studied the magnificent illustrations and insisted that my mother give me the Latin name of each animal. I knew them almost all by heart when I was taken for my first visit to the Zoological garden in Cologne. I did not know that these names were Latin, and it would have helped me little; I was only interested in learning what was under each picture, the beautiful-sound-

klingenden Namen, nicht die anderen, die jeder kannte. Später wurde mir beigebracht, dass das lateinische Wörter und eine andere Sprache seien, aber mir war sie im Klang so vertraut, als wäre sie ein Teil der eigenen Welt. Und so war es ja auch wirklich. Darum habe ich Lateinisch mit grosser Leichtigkeit gelernt und geliebt, und die neun lateinischen Jahre meines Gymnasiums vom 9ten bis zum 18ten sind mir nie zu lang geworden, wie es so vielen geht. Ich fand mit drei Jahren einen Tiernamen wie Camelopardalis Giraffa berauschend, ich musste es stets laut aussprechen, um es voll zu geniessen.

An den fröhlichen geselligen Veranstaltungen, an denen die geistig regsame Grossmutter ihre Freude hatte, nahm Johann Ludwig Birschel nur murrend und widerstrebend teil, was ihn nicht hinderte, die zahlreichen vorsprechenden Gäste stets strahlend zu begrüssen und mit den guten Weinen seines Kellers zu bewirten; doch in seine innere Welt gab er ihnen keinen Zutritt. Nur mir vertraute er seine summa summarum in gelegentlichen Anwandlungen an, und es war dann auf die Kurzformel reduziert, dass ja doch 'alles' Schwindel sei.

Die Grossmutter Pauline war von lebhaftem Temperament und feurigem Geist. Sie hatte ein feingeschnittenes Antlitz, aus dem ein Paar scharf blickende, schöne dunkle Augen strahlten. Es ist schwer zu sagen, was sie in aristokratischer Umgebung im 18ten Jahrhundert geworden wäre, mit der ihre Abstammung von dem französischen Münzmeister Friedrichs des Grossen, Marmet sie verband; sein Ehrendegen und königliches Patent wurden in einer Seitenlinie der Familie bis vor nicht langer Zeit als Andenken aufgehoben. Die Grossmutter hatte das ganze Jahr ihr Haus voller Besucher, die von ihrem Witz und Geist angezogen wurden und auch ihre Gastlichkeit zu schätzen wussten. Ihre Bildung war literarisch, aber sie ruhte noch fest auf religiösem Grunde, wie das im Wuppertal traditionell war. Das war noch eine echte Theokratie gewesen, ähnlich wie in den puritanischen Gemeinden Neuenglands, wo die Pfarrer herrschten und Theologie alles Denken und allen Erdenwandel durchdrang. Die Grossmutter versammelte gern um

ing names, not the others that everyone knew. Later I was taught that these words were Latin and came from another language, but their sound was as familiar to me as if they were part of my own world. And indeed they were; hence I came to learn Latin very easily and love it. I did not find the nine years of Latin in the *Gymnasium*, from my ninth to my eighteenth year, too long, as many others did. At the age of three I was fascinated by an animal name like *Camelopardalis*, *Giraffa*. I always had to say it out loud in order to savour it to the full.

Johann Ludwig Birschel took part only reluctantly in the gay social gatherings, in which my spirited grandmother delighted, but this did not prevent him from always greeting with beaming face the numerous guests that came to call and entertaining them with the good wines from his cellar. Yet he admitted no one to his innermost world. Only to me did he entrust his *summa summarum* on an occasional impulse, and it was then reduced to the brief formula that ' everything ' was a hoax.

My grandmother Pauline had a lively temperament and fiery spirit. She had finely-cut features in which shone a pair of penetrating and beautiful dark eyes. It is difficult to say what she would have been in the aristocratic setting of the eighteenth century, to which she was linked by her descent from Marmet, the French mint-master of Frederick the Great; his ceremonial sword and the royal diploma were kept until recently as souvenirs in another branch of the family. All year long, Grandmother had her house full of visitors, who were attracted by her wit and spirit and appreciated her hospitality. Her education was literary, but solidly based on the religious foundation customary in Wuppertal. It was a genuine theocracy, like those in the Puritan Commonwealths of New England where the Pastor ruled and theology penetrated all thought and all earthly conduct. Grand-

ihren Tisch die geistlichen Herren der Umgegend (denn Lobberich hatte damals noch keine protestantische Gemeinde) zu scharfen und geistreichen Debatten, wie sie gerade in orthodoxen Kreisen häufig waren. Die Grossmutter verwöhnte ihre Enkel, und mich besonders, da ich am selben Orte lebte. Sie überwachte jeden meiner Schritte und erhob ersten Anspruch, dass ich als Kind täglich stundenlang in ihrem Hause verweilte, das dem unseren nahe lag. Im dauernden Umgang mit Erwachsenen und im ständigen Hinhorchen auf die Äusserungen ihrer Individualität, wurde ich frühreif und kam weniger mit meinen Altersgenossen in Berührung, als es für mich gut war. Die Gegensätze in der Natur beider Grosseltern zogen mich an, und ich nahm beide tief in mich auf. In meiner geistigen Entwicklung habe ich beide in mir aufgehoben.

Meine Eltern waren sehr anderer Art. Sie waren Kinder ihrer Zeit. Das was ihr inneres Leben bewegte, war nicht der Flug der Gedanken oder das gelehrte Wissen, sondern die Welt der Musik. Sie beherrschte alles andere in unserem Hause. Ihr galt ihre Andacht. Beide Eltern waren hochmusikalisch, jede freie Stunde war ihr gewidmet, und es war in diesem hingebenden Interesse für die Musik, wo sich beide Eltern fanden und immer wieder fanden. In ihrer vollkommenen Hingabe an die Sprache der Töne und Harmonien konnten sie sich verströmen in einer Sehnsucht nach höherem Leben, die in ihrem täglichen Dasein keine Befriedigung fand. Beide waren Sänger von Natur. Dem Vater wurde noch, als ich schon geboren war, eine Ausbildung seiner fabelhaften Stimme an der Kölner Oper angeboten. Seine Ausbildung war bis dahin sein eigenes Werk und Improvisation gewesen, denn als der jüngste von vier überlebenden Kindern konnte er in den finanziellen Umständen der grosselterlichen Familie nach damaligen Anschauungen nicht mehr erwarten und wurde trotz höchster, vielseitiger Begabung unweigerlich in die kaufmännische Lehre geschickt. Er war niemals glücklich in seinem Beruf, und seine impulsive künstlerische Anlage litt darunter, dass er innerlich zu viele Möglichkeiten hatte, äusserlich aber zu wenige. So war er am Ende seines zu kurzen Lebens und langen Leidens (er

mother liked to gather at her table the men of the cloth of the vicinity (for Lobberich at that time had as yet no Protestant congregation) for the sharp and clever debates frequently held in orthodox circles. Grandmother spoiled her grandchildren and especially me, because I lived in the same town. She watched over every step I took and insisted that as a child I spend hours every day in her home, very near ours. Constant intimacy with adults and exposure to the expression of their personalities made me precocious; I had less intercourse with children of my own age than was good for me. The contrast in the natures of my grandparents struck me and I absorbed both of them deeply into myself. In my intellectual development I have made both my own.

My parents were very different. They were children of their time. What touched them in their hearts was not the soaring flight of thought or scholarly learning, but the world of music. It dominated everything else in our home. For it they reserved their religious feeling. They were both very musical; every free hour was devoted to music and it was in this all-embracing interest that they found each other again and again. In their complete devotion to the language of tone and harmony they could dream dreams of a higher life which could not be satisfied in their daily existence. Both were born singers. My father was offered, even after my birth, the opportunity of having his marvellous voice trained at the Cologne Opera. Up to that time, his training had been all his own work and improvisation, for as the youngest of four surviving children he could, according to the ideas of the time and given the financial circumstances of my grandparents, expect nothing else. In spite of his highly developed musical talents he had no choice but to begin a commercial apprenticeship. He was never happy in his work and his impulsive artistic temperament suffered from the fact that his capacities were not matched by his opportunities in life. Hence, at the end of his life, short in years but long in suffering, (he died at

starb mit 47 Jahren, als ich noch in Berlin studierte) zu der Erkenntnis gelangt, dass seine Gaben in kleinen Verhältnissen verschwendet worden waren, und seine letzten Abschiedsworte an mich waren die dringende Mahnung, nichts anderem zu folgen als meinem inneren Beruf, was damals in weiten Kreisen noch keineswegs als selbstverständlich galt.

Es lag bei meiner Art der Interessen nahe, von den Eltern geistig bestimmt zu werden, aber während ich von ihrer Musik für immer in meiner Musikalität bedingt war, obgleich diese passiver Natur blieb, habe ich dem Zeitgeist des Naturalismus und der naturwissenschaftlich-materialistischen Denkweise, die die Generation meiner Eltern beherrschte, dem Haeckel, Feuerbach, Zola, nie gehuldigt. Doch was von grossem dauerndem Einfluss auf mich blieb, war die Leidenschaft, mit der meine Mutter die Literatur ihrer Zeit in sich aufnahm. Sie war zeitlebens eine grosse Leserin, wozu die ländliche Umgebung das ihre beitrug, da die in der Stadt sich bietenden äusseren Ablenkungen fehlten. Zwar waren beide Eltern regelmässige Gäste der grossen rheinischen Musikfeste und der Konzerte in den nähergelegenen Städten, und der jährliche Besuch der rheinischen Metropole Köln gab der Stille des Lebens auf dem Lande ein notwendiges Gegengewicht durch die Kunst. Aber in der langen Zwischenzeit war man auf sich selbst angewiesen, und nur ein spontanes Interesse und eigenes geistiges Suchen konnte sie lebendig erhalten. Darin war mein Vater weniger anspruchsvoll als die Mutter, die diese Neigung aus ihrem Elternhaus mitbrachte, und er teilte mit ihr eigentlich nur die Musik, sonst liebte er selbst über die Dinge zu urteilen mehr als zu lesen und an sich zu arbeiten, wie die Mutter es nannte. Diese Selbsterziehung wurde mir durch ihr Beispiel zur selbstverständlichen zweiten Natur. Sie nahm mich von früh auf als ihren geistigen Gefährten. Dazu kam als zweiter Einfluss ihre grosse Freude an der Natur und an Spaziergängen und Wanderungen, auf denen ich sie begleitete. Auch in meinem späteren Leben, als ich in Grossstädten zu wohnen hatte, habe ich stets am Rande der Stadt meine Wohnung genommen, um die Berührung mit dem Lande aufrecht zu halten und mich geistig und körperlich

the age of 47 when I was still a student in Berlin), he had come to understand that his gifts had been wasted due to the limitations of his surroundings and his last farewell to me was the urgent warning to follow only my inner call, a truth which at that time was by no means widely accepted.

Because of the nature of my own interests, my parents had an important influence on my thinking. Their music always remained the source of my own musical feeling, passive though it was. But I never paid homage to the *Zeitgeist* of naturalism, to the scientific materialism which controlled the thought of my parents' generation, to the work of Haeckel, Feuerbach and Zola. What remained with me as a strong and abiding influence was the passion with which my mother absorbed the literature of her time. All her life, she was a great reader. In this she was helped by our rural surroundings, which lacked the distractions of the city. Both my parents were regular patrons of the great music festivals of the Rhineland and the concerts in nearby cities; the annual visit to the Rhineland metropolis, Cologne, furnished, through its art, a necessary compensation for the quietness of country life. However, during the long intervals people depended on their own resources; only spontaneous interest and intellectual effort could bridge the gap between trips. In this respect, my father made less demands on himself than did my mother, who brought this tendency from her parental home; they had in common only love of music. He himself preferred to pass judgments, rather than to read and "work on himself" as mother called it. Because of her example, this self-education became a second nature to me. She accepted me at an early age, as her intellectual companion. Another influence was her great enjoyment of nature; she loved to go for walks and rambles on which I accompanied her. In my later life when I had to live in great cities, I always lived on the outskirts in order to keep in touch with the land and thus to refresh myself in soul and body. The

an ihm zu erfrischen. Die niederrheinische Landschaft ist zwar nicht romantisch wie der Ober- und Mittelrhein und von Sagen umwoben, aber war damals und ist wohl noch jetzt unberührter von der Kommerzialisierung, die dem vielbereisten Teil des Rheinlandes den Stempel aufgedrückt hat. Lobberich ist eine Stadt inmitten von elf Seen, das fruchtbare Kornland der Ebene grenzt an die holländische Heide der Provinz Limburg und an den vom Klever Reichswald bis dort hinaufreichenden niederrheinischen Höhenrücken über Hinsbeck. In diesem Lande liess sich herrlich wandern, und diese Wege waren damals noch nicht von der späteren Wanderjugend überschwemmt, sondern man traf nur die arbeitende Bauernbevölkerung, die unsere Bewegung im Freien freilich als Müssiggang ansah. Ich bin, als ich heranwuchs, dann meist für mich allein oder mit Freunden gegangen, und die Freude an dem Anblick von Feld, Wasser, Wald und Höhen wurde zu einer der stärksten Wurzeln meines Daseins. Wie die Musik war diese Art der Erhebung für die neue Generation ein Teil ihres Innenlebens, das für viele ihre ererbte Religion ergänzte oder an ihre Stelle trat, dort wo sie nicht mehr innerlich wirksam war. Die Eltern waren diesen Weg gegangen : sie waren aus der kirchlichen Tradition herausgewachsen, aber es fehlte ihrem Leben nicht die Andacht und nicht die Ehrfurcht vor dem, was höher ist als der Mensch. Das Dogma des Atheismus war nicht ihre Sache, wohl aber hielt ihr politischer Liberalismus sie von jeder tätigen Teilnahme am kirchlichen Leben ihrer Zeit ab.

landscape of the lower Rhineland is not romantic like the upper and middle Rhine or steeped in legends, but at the time it was, and probably still is, less affected by the commercial exploitation which has put its mark on the section of the Rhineland to which the tourists go. Lobberich is a city surrounded by eleven lakes; the fruitful grain fields of the plain border on the Dutch heaths of the Province of Limburg and on the ridges of the lower Rhine hills, stretching up to that point from the Reichswald of Cleves via Hinsbeck. In this countryside one could wander to one's heart's delight. The roads had not yet been usurped by the youth movement of a later day; one met only peasant folk at work, who, it is true, looked on our hikes as sheer laziness. As I grew up I often walked alone or with friends and the pleasure of looking at meadows, water, woods and hills became one of the strongest roots of my existence. For the new generation this kind of exaltation, like music, became part of their spiritual portion, which for many complemented their inherited religion or replaced it for those in whom it was no longer alive. My parents had gone this way : they had grown away from the Church tradition, yet devotion was not lacking in their life nor reverence for that which is above men. They were not atheists, although their political liberalism held them back from any active share in the church life of their time.

INTRODUCTION TO *SCRIPTA MINORA*
"An Intellectual Autobiography"

Scripta Minora (Rome: 1960), I, ix-xxvii.

It is with some reluctance that I yield here to my editor's desire for an introduction to this collection,[1] to give the reader a key to its contents. If, despite my inner misgivings, I comply with his request, it is certainly not with the intention of writing even the most sketchy of autobiographies. I do not wish, either, to give the impression that the papers gathered here form a mere haphazard accumulation of the products of a scholarly πολυπραγμοσύνη. The justification of this collection lies not so much in the positive results of any individual article as in the consistent urge for knowledge at work in each of these studies, driving them all to a single goal. Hence the choice of material does not follow any system. In my publications I have not sought to deal equally with all fields of classical scholarship, nor does it seem permissible to file away all "results" — as though in coffins — in the respective drawers of scholarship, embalmed as ultimate truths. The only way open is the one I have actually followed here, i. e. a chronological arrangement of articles and reviews. In this way they find their place in the total picture of my research up to the present time.

Some material I have discarded as less suitable for this end. A number of other articles of a general character, intended for a wider circle of readers, are omitted here because they have already appeared in a collection entitled *Humanistische Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 1937, 2nd enlarged ed. 1960). They too are essential in the development of my research in Greek paideia and the problem of humanism. A complete bibliography of my writings

[1] The collection referred to is, of course, the *Scripta Minora*. The same applies also to the index mentioned on p. 33 below.

is to be found in the Anniversary volume dedicated to me on my seventieth birthday (*Harvard Classical Studies*, vol. 63). In the present volumes my publisher wished to reprint the more technical philological studies that had not appeared in book form. He intended this collection primarily for the younger generation in this swift-changing world; he wanted them to see the philologist at work.

History was the starting point of my work. It taught me early to understand my homeland, the lower Rhineland, in a broader cultural context and thus opened up its narrow horizons. *Moenia mundi discedunt.* Lucretius says this of the intellectual effect of Greek cosmology on the practical Roman mind; it was history that gave my world its cosmic dimensions. My interest lay in world history. The nearby borders of Holland and Belgium were a constant reminder of "Europa"; so too was the palpable proximity of the low German, Dutch, Flemish and French languages. All around me stood the old walls and castles and thousand-year-old churches of the Middle Ages, the excavated fortresses and military highways of the Romans, the builders of the Rhenish cities. Latin, started when we were nine and studied nine hours a week, never seemed to me a dead language, not even a foreign one. Ever since its form and content have been determining factors of my development. Then when I was thirteen years old, Greek language and culture revealed themselves to my deepening insight as the interior dimension of the Roman world. Thus my own development reflected the historical course of our western European civilization. From the beginning, the Roman empire in its final Christian and universal form was presented to us as a simple fact; to ask why, seemed superfluous. But Hellas was an intellectual revelation, Hellas seen through the eyes of Cicero and Horace. The patron of our Gymnasium was the great mystic, Thomas a Kempis, author of the *Imitatio Christi*, after the bible, the best known and most widely translated of books. The stillness and mysticism of his contemplation of the world, which could still be felt in the piety of the lower Rhineland, was in harmony with the quiet beauty of the local lake country. By nature and history a part of the Netherlands, this region

had broken away from the rest of Holland when the latter turned to Calvinism; like the great humanist of the lower Rhine, Erasmus, it remained united to Spain and to the Church. The fortress of Kempen which harbored our Thomaeum Gymnasium within its thick walls and moats, flanked by three strongly fortified towers, was like a visible symbol of this tradition. It made the unity of the bilingual cosmopolitan culture of antiquity and the unity of the classical and Christian worlds seem natural to us from the very beginning, and I have held to this unity in all my later work. Although Rome was historically the prerequisite for the existence of the Greek element in this union, nonetheless Hellas became the real source for my spiritual needs and the field of my scholarly activity. I experienced it as the archetype of the spirit, as the ἀέναος οὐσία in Plato's words. In my research, however, while I sought for what was eternally valid and eternally existent in the Greek mind and in the tradition which fed on it, yet I also felt the urge to grasp this world historically in its first appearance and its gradual development, in accord with the historical concern then dominant in scholarly work. My own interest in history had originally been very concrete, for I read straight through all the ancient historians. Even in my later years at school as my realization of religious and intellectual problems grew, this interest shifted to the direction which it still holds today, i.e. to the history of the mind. This led me soon to turn more and more to the world of ideas, to poetry and philosophy. At the same time, I always sought to understand those products of the mind in their relationship to the concrete reality of Greek life and Greek history, and in this tendency there survived the existential motivation that first spurred me to wide reading.

The greatest figure in the philological world at the turn of the century was undoubtedly Wilamowitz; I had heard his name even in our classes at school, classes whose historical horizons his Greek Reader had sought to widen. We did not actually use this Reader at school but as it was congenial to my historical studies I discovered it and read it by myself (although I really preferred to read every author from cover to cover), going far beyond the list of required writers,

as my high school diploma shows. I became Wilamowitz' disciple from afar, through an intensive study of the two volumes of his masterly work: *Euripides's Herakles* and the *Einleitung in die attische Tragödie.* At my request they were given me as a present, the year before my graduation from the Gymnasium. Here a new world opened up for me. To find further information on the classical authors I was reading, I had already made use of August Boeckh's *Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, his chief course at the University, published posthumously. This reading had already given me a clear concept of the universality of my field, but here, in Wilamowitz, I saw its full realization in a many-sided interpretation of tragedy springing from rich knowledge of Hellenic life. Nothing even in later years of personal acquaintance with the great scholar ever surpassed this first impression. What overpowered the reader was not the subtlety of literary judgment but the ever-present and unparalleled erudition, the mastery of the language in all its moods and the colorful vision of Greek life which he constantly emphasized — in conscious opposition to the half-faded classicism of the men who followed the great age of German Idealism and the philology of the first half of the nineteenth century. To be sure, even a Wilamowitz was no longer able to handle all aspects of antiquity with equal power, but at the moment of my entrance into academic life (1907) classical scholarship was represented at the University of Berlin with unparalleled completeness. I made it my consistent endeavor to learn from everyone there. Scholars like Hermann Diels, Johannes Vahlen, Eduard Norden, Wilhelm Schulze, Eduard Meyer and others, live now not only in my grateful memory but, insofar as I was capable of assimilating their learning, live on in my work as well. The present collection of specialized studies with its greater emphasis on methodology is particularly suited to show this. From each of these men I tried to obtain what was uniquely his to offer.

Beside the philological tradition, however, I must here recall another form of German scholarship which was still very much alive in my student days at Berlin and to which I owe

much. It was not philological in the narrow sense, although intimately tied up with the tradition of Greek philosophy. In my first semester at the University of Marburg, I came into close contact with philosophy which there, in the neo-kantian school of Cohen and Natorp and under the influence of the logical insights gained from it, had turned to the study of Plato. Plato, interpreted in the neo-kantian sense, was the very center of the intellectual life of the university — no small matter for a young man who was looking for a guide and who cherished the ideal of a living antiquity. This influence turned me definitively toward Greek philosophy. It was a conversion to philosophy as such, so it seemed, and I have dedicated years of intensive activity to this pursuit. I say no more of it here, save that this development did not mean a break with philology. No matter what one's understanding of Plato and Aristotle and the other thinkers of antiquity, their teaching at that moment had entered a phase in which it again possessed immediate philosophical actuality. In fact the inspiration of this Marburg period brought my philological tendency to a full awakening, for I found that the interpretation of Plato accepted there conflicted with my historical-philological sense. Such explanations of Plato, I felt, had often prevailed since the first generation of his disciples and would recur again in the future. Probably they were merely symptons of his everliving power — history seems to need fruitful misunderstandings of its spiritual inheritance. But my conviction deepened that we needed to approach Greek philosophy by a study of the ancient world in terms of the history of ideas; to hold that such a method must necessarily be antiquarian seemed to me the proud prejudice of modern self-concern. A hundred years earlier when through Wolf and Boeckh philology was expanding into an all-embracing science of classical antiquity, it had absorbed Schleiermacher's revival of the study of Greek philosophy, especially that of Plato. The methodological problem of interpretation which had already been given conscious and explicit form by Schleiermacher in his *hermeneutics* thus entered philology. For previous philological exegesis had been confined almost exclusively to grammar. The problem

had been stated, but much was still needed for its full solution.

In Berlin Hermann Diels had recently brought out his epoch-making work, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. I; the book was required reading for his lectures. He also introduced us to the study of Lucretius and Epicurean philosophy; this was a legacy from Usener, his master at Bonn. I did not hear his lectures on Aristotle's Ethics; he deliberately kept away from Plato, for whom he had no inner spiritual affinity. I became acquainted with Wilhelm Dilthey's work only later, after his death, as during my student years in Berlin he had already retired from the university. That we missed one another was all the more curious because at one time Adolf Lasson suggested that I become Dilthey's secretary, to help him with the organization of his scientific papers. My real introduction to the philosophy of Aristotle came in a Seminar that went on from semester to semester with the "last of the Hegelians," Adolf Lasson, who, although already over eighty, still taught with passionate fire and brilliant wit. In his youth he had heard August Boeckh and Karl Lachmann and had known August Meineke personally. But his own training fitted him to continue the work on Aristotle begun by Trendelenburg and Bonitz, which thus came to me through his mouth. To find this link to the older tradition of German history of ideas and to feel its living breath upon me was to be decisive. This rich heritage could not be learnt from the scholars of the day. Philosophy proper was not the strong point of Wilamowitz; more particularly, he had no close relationship with those ancient authors like Aristotle and the scientists, or the Greek Fathers since Origen, who require many years of systematic research and a complete familiarity with their work. Lasson's house was the scene where, on long Friday evenings, a group of advanced students in philosophy (with me, the much younger man, on kindly sufferance), would practice the old method of exact exegesis on a continuous text with its problems, a method which is traditional in the history of Aristotelianism and which has been used since in the Oxford school of Ingram Bywater and W. D. Ross.

From the beginning my primary interest had been in language, but to me "language" did not mean the linguistic comparison of many tongues, although I had always been keenly interested in the study of other literatures beside the classical. Rather it meant the grasp of an individual form of speech, partly as style and partly as medium of thought; in other words, research in expression and in meaning. The unique individuality of the Greek language, its different dialects, periods and literary personalities had an irresistible fascination for me. This method of approach was in conformity with my historical perspective. It is an endless task, its product a slowly acquired personal experience of the meanings of each word and of its historical development which, like an unwritten archive, enriches itself from year to year in constant intercourse with the texts, always present to one's inner consciousness yet never wholly expressible in written form. The most comprehensive lexicon is merely a mechanical supplement to this inner linguistic macrocosm. Its dwelling place is memory, the mother of all nine muses, the first and fundamental quality of the *philosophos physis* according to Plato. From boyhood on I had always learned by heart as much Greek and Latin poetry as I could or, more correctly, it usually stuck immediately in my memory. The context of various passages enabled me to remember not only words but also word usage which I began quite early to observe. I applied this philological talent, later strengthened by the method of Johannes Vahlen, to the language of poets and philosophers, especially in those periods when specialized terminologies developed in the language, requiring specialized treatment. Since those days semantic studies have not infrequently formed the subject of German doctoral dissertations, as an American scholar once demonstrated statistically, drawing the conclusion that scholarship had come to a turning point. Our relationship to language has deepened. Its study has now become an instrument for the history of thought.

Interest in language early led me to textual criticism. Some of my work in this field, beginning with my doctoral dissertation, is included here. In every case it always grew

out of the interpretation of the ancient texts themselves, sometimes from my editorial work. I have always had high esteem for philology as knowledge of textual tradition and have dedicated a great part of my life to this work. In the course of time I have had to deal with countless manuscripts, tracing many back to their source or examining their relationship with other manuscripts. The same interest also prompted work in palaeography, as in the articles which are reprinted here : on the anonymous Washington uncial fragments which I was able to identify as belonging to Gregory of Nyssa, or the St. Gall's Ennius fragment. Then there was the reconstruction of ancient manuscripts, now lost, from later copies, and the reconstruction of a single codex from fragments now widely dispersed. This work is like that of the archaeologist who occasionally succeeds in recreating a statue or a vase from the fragments or sherds that had been preserved in various places. I often preferred the solution of interesting individual cases to compiling all the material known about textual transmission; the latter has been done by Giorgio Pasquali in the classic work to which every scholar is so deeply indebted. In modern times Wilamowitz understood the significance of the field of text history and devoted much work to it. I have sought to link my own work on the textual tradition of Aristotle, of Gregory of Nyssa and of Macarius with the history of thought. For the manner in which our ancient manuscripts were preserved and disseminated depended on what they came to mean for later centuries.

Because of their rich manuscript tradition, the Church Fathers have always attracted me as a philologist, apart from the interest of their content. As editor of Gregory of Nyssa whose numerous writings have survived in more than a thousand manuscripts, I faced wholly new problems that classical philology had hardly ever grappled with before. The Prolegomena of the individual volumes provide details on this. It turned out that even with the richest manuscript tradition of a text the method of *recensio* alone is not enough and that *emendatio* always must retain its importance, especially in texts which, like those of the Christian Fathers, have not gone through the hands of grammarians and there-

fore have never been "corrected." The art of emendation seemed to have been largely abandoned in the scholarship of our day, partly because the best work had already been done by earlier generations, partly because of lack of talent for such work and a superstitious loyalty to the letter which thinks of itself as "healthily conservative."

Long ago J. Vahlen's keen observation of usages of speech brought about a healthy reaction against the conjectural games of earlier times, and I have always been grateful for the severe discipline of his seminar. Nevertheless, as soon as one has to deal with the less bethumbed areas of literature, the picture changes. I found reassurance and trust in my own ability for emendation through certain experiences. For example, as a student of Hermann Diels I presented textual emendations for the commentary of Philoponus on Aristotle's *Analytica* by way of applying for the Laurentian Scholarship at the University of Berlin. By chance, lying on his desk at that very moment were the proof-sheets of Wallis' Academy edition of Philoponus. Diels examined it and at once told me beamingly that my conjectures were confirmed by the readings of the best manuscripts. The disappointment at finding my conjectures thereby made superfluous meant far less than my growth in confidence in my own ability to handle a text. I have often had similar corroboration in my work with Gregory of Nyssa, when newly discovered manuscript evidence was added to what we had, or when a better reading in the text of an ancient commentator on Aristotle differing from our manuscripts would support a conjecture I had ventured. I shall not speak here of my work in textual criticism of other authors nor of my collaboration in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* of which I was appointed head for twelve years by the Berlin Academy. The annual progress reports on the *Corpus*, published regularly by me at that time, are not included in the present collection. In order that the reader may find more easily the various texts dealt with in these volumes, he is referred to the index of authors at the end of the second volume.[1]

[1] See above, page 25, n. 1.

The emended passages are there indicated by the book number in italics.

As my Dissertation shows, my interest in language and textual criticism, that is, in philology in a narrower sense, always went hand in hand with an interest in the meaning of the transmitted text. My *Emendationum Aristotelearum Specimen*, reprinted here, was only an appendix to the dissertation proper on *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles* which was brought out in book form. In fact it was intended primarily to satisfy J. Vahlen, who insisted that, according to the university statutes, the Berlin philological dissertation must be written in Latin; the two parallel dissertations in my case were a compromise. Yet it was more than that; for also in my later studies of textual criticism, *Arbeiten zur Metaphysik*, which accompanied my larger work on Aristotle as basis for a history of his development, there existed the same relationship between textual criticism and analysis. The book grew out of my grappling with the difficult problems of the textual tradition of that particular work. My continuous work on the text, which was to be published only decades later, inevitably led to an intellectual detour to get an historical understanding of Aristotle's philosophical manner and method, not only in the *Metaphysics* but in his whole work on pragmatics. It was necessary to start from the inner form of his philosophical thought. By it apparent deficiencies in the traditional form of the text and composition of his writings could be explained as the result of long years of repeated work on the problems and of oral presentation to students which by chance was preserved for us. This is also shown by the different versions of the *Ethics* and the progressive development of the lectures on *Politics*. From these discrepancies there emerges a pattern which is perhaps not easily discernible in its details, but which is sufficiently tangible to show the total course of his development. This kind of analysis threw light on Aristotle's relationship to his master Plato, and touched more or less upon almost all the problems of aristotelian philosophy as a system, thus allowing us to reconstruct in part the stages of development of the Greek mind in the fourth century.

I had originally planned to deal with these problems starting from the Academy of the later Plato by a collection of fragments like those of H. Diels and H. Usener; part of this project, the fragments and life work of Philippus of Opus, the editor of Plato's *Laws* and a great astronomer, was awarded a prize by the Berlin Academy. However, it later seemed more promising to begin with Aristotle, i.e. the disciple of Plato of whom we know by far the most. This would help to bring out his platonic point of departure and the specific nature of his own development. So a beginning was made and the enormous quantity of literature produced since those first steps were taken is adequate proof that the road thus opened was judged proper and profitable.

Its influence extended also beyond the schools of Plato and Aristotle to other work in the history of Greek philosophy, especially the Hellenistic schools of the Stoa and Epicurus. Old problems were once more revived when considered in relation to the intellectual setting of their time, i.e. in their true historical context.

I myself traced the relationship of aristotelian and platonic philosophy with Greek medicine, a field of research which in recent times had made great progress through the cooperation of philologists, as they realized the value of the magnificent medical literature of the Greeks in the task of putting classical scholarship on an historical basis. Soon a new and specialized science emerged which could not be left isolated from the rest of classical scholarship. The relationship between Aristotle's scientific research and medical science was especially close. In the articles on *Pneuma* and on *Diokles von Karystos* which are related to my book on the latter, I sought from this point of view to throw light on the work of the aristotelian school in this field. Studying the extant fragments of Diokles in the context of the history of style and of ideas enabled me to determine his date as ca. 300 B.C. instead of the beginning of the fourth century, as had been previously held, and to bring him into close relationship with Aristotle. These contacts were partly in content but more particularly in method; this brought to the forefront the problem of the unity of knowledge in Aristotle's time.

The articles on Diokles, on the concept of ἀρχαί in Diokles and Aristoxenos and on the prototype of the medical method in the *Nicomachean Ethics* all belong in this context. The issue of methodology, scientific and philosophical, has proved to be complex and promising; in fact, it provides most significant insights into the developmental process not only of aristotelian but of all Greek thought during the period most fruitful for science, which, it becomes more and more clear, is the period of transition from Attic to Hellenistic science. It would be a great pity if my book on Aristotle were divorced from these closely related lines of research, because in all of them a single movement is at work evolving toward a new synthesis. I could not as yet conceive a history of Greek philosophy for everything is still too fluid, but despite this, everything I attempted has been directed toward this ideal goal. I hope the numerous allusions in these essays to interesting sidelines of development may therefore be pardoned, and so too my promises to treat certain problems further, too often unfulfilled. In these vistas I have lived and thought; therefore I have had to mention them continually. The separate study of a great personality is one thing; the history of problems as they develop through the work of several different personalities is quite another. The latter was the goal I have always pursued, especially within the succession of Plato-Aristotle, but also in the successive generations within one school such as the aristotelian school (for example in my treatment of the problem of the several *Ethics*, of the intellectual virtues, or of the ideal of the philosophic life); or even within one and the same individual, or within the total history of philosophy. Compare also my investigation of special basic concepts, e.g. *phronesis* or *sophia* in the essay on "Kreislauf," or *ate* and *dike* in "Solon's Eunomia," concepts that remain constant through all periods in the life of the Greek mind.

By thus emphasizing the history of ideas, my investigation differed from Eduard Zeller's method in the field of Greek philosophy; for him philosophy meant the succession of great systems. It differed from his also in the fact that I abandoned mere doxographic presentation and tried to throw

into fuller relief the motive forces behind an idea or a philosophy throughout an entire period. In consequence I had to treat ancient philosophy in the full breadth of its historical effects, including its influence on science, religion or theological thought, education, law and the state, and, moreover, the influence which these intellectual forces exerted upon it in return. I may illustrate this briefly by the example of theology. At the very beginning of my study of ancient Christian literature in my book on *Nemesios von Emesa*, my research concerned the adoption of the Greek scientific tradition in the very first work which can claim to be a Christian anthropology. The problem of the reciprocal fertilization of classical and Christian thought dominated my work in this field throughout my entire life, as in the recently published book, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature : Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden : 1953), where I trace the formative influence of Greek philosophical ideas such as arete, paideia and βίος θεωρητικός on Christian monasticism and its ideals. On the other hand, in opposition to a widespread modern opinion which interprets the beginnings of Greek philosophy in the sense of today's natural science, my book, *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker*, analyzed the "theological" function of these earliest Greek cosmologies which indirectly inspired the philosophical theology of Plato and Aristotle as well as of the hellenistic thinkers. The papers collected here, from beginning to end, also provide many examples of this principal tendency in my research; for example, the essays on the hellenistic idea of *tyche* in Horace's odes, on the "unknown God" of the *Acts of the Apostles*, on the Pauline idea of the pre-existence of Christ in the letter to the Philippians, on the idea of the deification of man in Gregory of Nyssa, on apes and true Christians, on the *philosophia Christi* in Erasmus, etc. My life-long occupation, the editing and interpretation of the work of the most truly Greek of the Christian Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa, which in his old age Wilamowitz urged me to undertake, had from the very beginning always been envisaged under this aspect. It was intended by him as the most comprehensive contribution of our time to this great Christian

problem. For antiquity provides the right perspective for understanding the origins of Christian theology. In *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker* I promised to fill in the gap between the early Greek presocratics and the platonic-christian theology of Origen and Clement; this important task still remains undone.

The unity (*discordia concors*) of hellenistic with Christian history of late antiquity, as I have said, was a matter taken for granted from my childhood and it has always been natural for me to pass freely from antiquity to Christianity. As a child I went to Catholic schools, but since I was a Protestant, received no religious instruction there, and in my own home I found no positive interest in religion. Therefore, I had to work out my own insight into the origins of Christianity. I achieved this, as I had with antiquity, by a continuous penetration into the sources. Thus even in the Gymnasium I was half a theologian, and my graduation certificate specified that I would go on to the study of both classical philology and theology. At the University, in fact, I did carry my theological studies further, but still in the same manner as before, i.e. by independent reading in early Christian writings as well as in modern theological literature. I rarely attended courses in theology at the University, yet I kept up with and entered deeply into the religious currents of my time. Without taking an active part in the life of any one church I was at home in the Church of all the centuries. The historical approach to the Judeo-christian inheritance was the one most congenial to me. I saw a similar tendency, though differing as to degree, among scholars such as P. Wendland, Edward Schwartz, and others. When, therefore, after my Doctoral Examination at Berlin, Wilamowitz urged me to take a major role in the project of editing Gregory of Nyssa, I felt immediately at home. At the time, neither of us realized what a burden I was thus taking upon myself. Still the brilliance of the plan, as evidenced later in Wilamowitz' introduction to the first volume of my edition (1921), carried me away; it corresponded fully to what my own personal development had shown me to be necessary. So I undertook the work. I am still engaged in carrying out

my promise. I would hardly have dared to take it on in the beginning save for my love for these texts and their interpretation and for the great historical and philosophical problem with which it brought me in daily contact. Thus there has fallen to my lot a destiny rare in our day, the responsibility for an *Editio princeps*, one, however, as has been pointed out, that differs from earlier first editions in that it is immediately in a position to supply a definitive text. It has also become a training school for editors, since, without the participation of a group of younger scholars who share with me the work of editing, there would be no prospect of soon completing the task, which, in fact, now seems possible.

Apart from my historical research in the history of religion and theology, the issue of humanism soon prompted me to a second line of historical research, concerning ethics, law, politics and education. Although in the end both strands came together in Greek philosophy, nevertheless both have their origin in archaic Greek poetry. That poetry is the earliest form in which a world of abiding order manifested itself among the Greeks.

This view of the whole became especially important to me since I have always been concerned with the origin of the Greek mind, not simply with details. Philologists have usually chosen to make the poets the objects of their research; in fact philology as such has its origin from this work. I am no exception in this regard, for, although I have not written monographs on individual poets, I have dealt with them as if this had indeed been my goal. Whenever the moment came when a specific piece of research had opened up the total picture of a great figure, I could well have gone on to write a book about him, but sacrificed it in favor of the whole, for I wanted something different from the loosely linked series of studies of personalities and works that we find in the older histories of literature. My studies of Homer and Hesiod, the lyric poets and tragedy, have been absorbed into my *Paideia* and were subordinated to its purpose; so too of the great prose writers like Thucydides, Plato and Isocrates. Aside from Aristotle, of all the great writers

only Demosthenes became the subject of an independent book of mine. It has always been my dream to do the same for Aeschylus. Others, however, have been treated in the form of longer essays such as those on Solon, Tyrtaeus, the *Areopagitikos* of Isocrates, all of which have found their place in this collection.

It has always seemed to me that, beside the chapters of the *Paideia* on Homer, the articles on Solon and Tyrtaeus are most characteristic of the way in which I conceive the treatment of ancient Greek poetry, for they show how an interpretation of the poets against their intellectual background can contribute to an understanding of them, of what they say and of how they say it. I can never forget how after I had presented in the Berlin Academy my interpretation of Solon's poem on Athens, Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις, Wilamowitz casually remarked to me, "Really, there is nothing here that needs to be explained; linguistically all is very simple. Solon and Hesiod have exactly the same idea of Justice." This is in fact roughly what he had previously stated in his *Aristoteles und Athen.* Yet I had gone to no end of trouble to show how it is precisely the changing concepts of the divine *dike* that reveal the characteristic difference between the mind of the eighth and that of the sixth centuries. I believed then and I still believe that my proof of the obvious dependence of the entire form of Solon's poem on the speech of Zeus in the first book of the *Odyssey* made impossible for good and all any attempt to date the *Odyssey* as late as the sixth century. My own analysis of the Homeric Epic, as I discussed it in my Berlin lectures on the *Odyssey* and in my seminar on the *Iliad*, has never been published. The "Tyrtaeus" is a case like that of Solon, because there also the concept of the time, as a qualitative criterion, plays an important role. Wilamowitz boldly conjectured that the elegy on true *arete* was contemporaneous with the sophists, that elegy which the later Plato called in his *Laws* the very essence of the old Spartan character. My interpretation proves it to be the unmistakable product of a very special intellectual situation in seventh century Sparta; at the same time I disproved the later date through careful study of the poem's

far-reaching literary echoes from Xenophanes of Colophon (sixth to fifth century) through the elegies and epitaphs of the fifth and fourth centuries. That was basically the same method which enabled me to put the physician Diokles of Karystos, the "Second Hippocrates," in the intellectual world of the late fourth century, instead of dating him a hundred years earlier, along with the historians of medicine. Again it was the method by which I proved definitively, against the latest advocates of its authenticity, that the *Great Ethics*, handed down under Aristotle's name, must be attributed to the next generation of his disciples. Disputes over the dating of literary works may remain purely formal, without touching on the core of the work. But that cannot be so when it is a question of literary differences of generations or even centuries. Here the very principles of scholarship are at stake, and not without good reason has so much ink been spilled on problems of dating. Without all this we cannot hope to understand the true purpose of an author or his work. The writer and his time condition each other mutually. From this point of view the literary creation assumes a different significance which in turn alters the concepts of personality, tradition and form. There is need here for a comprehensive analysis of these issues; I have not been able to find time for it. In my *Paideia* I have some incidental remarks on this head, without always pointing to the basic difference which separates me on the one hand from the literary-historical manner of the nineteenth century and on the other from modern literary criticism which dispenses with time as it focuses on technique or soars in the absolute.

It is not the place here to enter into particulars on the above mentioned work, *Paideia*, although in this connection I must not pass it over entirely, either. The external cause that led to its composition lay in the crisis facing our humanistic-cultural tradition on which the whole magnificent development of classical scholarship in the nineteenth century was based, whether or not it was conscious of this fact. Unless there is a permanent value for human culture in the ancient concept of man, classical scholarship exists in a void. Anyone who does not believe this should come to America

and see there what can happen to the development of classical studies. Where the humanistic tradition begins to decay, there is only one thing left for the student of antiquity to do: take up the cudgels and, like the monks in the early Middle Ages, devote himself body and soul to his mission as a teacher. The importance of what we call the humanities cannot be deduced abstractly from a concept of knowledge or by contrast with natural science, however logical this may appear. These are nothing but constructions *ex post facto*, stemming from our need to bring all that exists into a well-ordered system. It is only the last step in our self-analysis via the history of thought, if we understand the highly refined method of research discussed on these pages to be a final metamorphosis of that classical tradition of paideia from which it evolved. It is able to awaken new powers from this tradition, but the promethean urge to fashion men, which comes to us from antiquity, is and remains the root of all classical scholarship.

With such reflections my generation has had to face not only a practical battle for the very existence of Humanism as we call it, but also to turn to the problem of how to understand the educative force of antiquity made manifest time and again for two thousand years and supporting the unity of the western world, by the specific essence and very nature of the Greek way of thinking. The most cultured of the Romans who transmitted this educative force to us were the first to experience its effect upon themselves and to describe it as true *humanitas*. But now it became necessary to trace what they had in mind, the Greek paideia itself; to follow its development and to fix the origins of the idea and its expression in the forms of Greek culture as a unique event in history.

It became important to examine the growing awareness of the Greeks of an all-inclusive meaning in their whole spiritual life, which was the soil from which such terminal concepts as paideia grew.

To apply the perspective of the history of ideas to such concepts which persisted throughout Greek thought (e.g. the concept of arete and its semantic evolution from Homer to

Plato), was entirely along the lines of the path I had laid out for myself. It was merely the most significant application of the method, because everything else was tied up with it.

I accepted it as my Ariadne's thread to unwind the history of Greek paideia, which turns on nothing but the arete of man. We must learn to understand the Greeks through their own characteristic ideas, and evaluate their significance for the history of their spiritual influence. We must learn to understand historically why the Greeks themselves saw their spiritual world so "unhistorically," namely as the cosmic structure of unchanging norms and not as a merely temporal course of events.

This formulation of the question made it possible to set the history of literature on a new basis and to free it from its formalism. This would also lead us to observe antiquity once more as a whole. History, seen in this light, appears not only as the theatre of great deeds and events but also as the place where enduring forms of the spirit, forged under special sociological conditions, finally free themselves from their origin and continue to exercise their power, whether as models in the Greek sense or as seeds creating new forms, as the history of the influence of ancient culture shows throughout. Time and again it returned to paideia, the educational ideal of antiquity, which attests its historical reality most visibly in this continuous transformation in the rise of new cultures such as Graeco-Roman, in the early Christian paideia, in the educational tradition of the Middle Ages and in the humanism of the Renaissance. Through this door philology will again enter the total historical process which can find its unity only in the history of the human mind. Serious problems are involved here which I shall not now discuss. How this view affects our understanding of the relationship between archaic Greek poetry and the epic tradition, on the one hand, and the Athenian or Spartan citizen ideal on the other, may be seen in my essays on Solon and Tyrtaeus. For the position of the poets and philosophers as heralds of the idea of law, which was always the center of Greek culture since man is πολιτικὸν

ζῶον, one should consult the essay "Praise of Law" which follows the development of the idea of law from Homer to the ancient concept of natural law, so important for the modern world. The reviews dealing with Erasmus are related to the question of the rebirth of the ideal of the ancient paideia in the Renaissance. My researches of many years on the subject of the mixed constitution, to which I devoted several seminars, have not till now been published. Here is an ideal example of research in the history of ideas extending through the Middle Ages, Renaissance and modern world down to the creation of the American constitution. In regard to the connection of Christian arete with the ideal of philosophical contemplation as well as to the welcome accorded to paideia in the early Christian Church and to all more fundamental questions on the problem of humanism, though they also have a place here, relatively fewer discussions are to be found in these two volumes than in the collection of general essays to which I referred at the beginning.

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN: 1870 to 1945

Studium Berolinense. Gedenkschrift zur 150. Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, (Berlin 1960), 459-485.

Ever since the foundation of the University of Berlin classical philology has played a role of decisive importance in its program. According to the plan of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the University was to replace the medieval faculty of Arts, whose role had always been subservient to that of the three professional faculties of theology, law and medicine, with a faculty of philosophy wholly dedicated to fostering pure scholarship in teaching and research. This structural change put the new faculty in a position of numerical and intellectual superiority in the University; and in the formal organization of the teaching program it put into effect the chief creed of German Classicism, a legacy from the Greeks: the concept of a life sustained only by the arts and by reason. By "philosophy" was understood the whole of human knowledge: the natural sciences and the humanities, pervaded and cemented into one by philosophy. The powerful impetus emanating from Kant and Fichte's influence as teacher of philosophy put the arts and sciences at the new University in a position of leadership. Besides Schleiermacher and Fichte, Humboldt had immediately thought of the classical scholar, Friedrich A. Wolf, as one of the few outstanding men around whom he planned to build his university. Wolf was soon joined by his illustrious disciple, August Boeckh, the founder of the new school of classical scholarship which was to replace the old style *Humaniora*. Immanuel Bekker came to Berlin, and, later, Karl Lachmann; together these men completed the pattern of philological scholarship in Berlin, as it existed until shortly before 1870. When we speak of the leading position of the humanities in the new University, we have in mind, first of all, next to philosophy, the study of classical philology; the modern languages and literatures were at that

time not yet part of the curriculum. Closely connected with classical philology were ancient history, newly established by B. G. Niebuhr and perfected by Theodor Mommsen and J. G. Droysen, and, somewhat later, archaeology. The new philological scholarship had grown from the seed of the ideas of Christian G. Heyne at Göttingen and Friedrich A. Wolf during his Halle period, and from the "Royal Philological Seminar" which Boeckh conducted in Berlin for decades and whose history deserves to be written. It was the great exponent of philology as a rigorous course of studies with its own methodology, markedly different from the more traditional approach to classical studies in the universities of other countries.

By the year 1870, this development which had made the Berlin school of classical studies world-famous had already passed its first peak. Boeckh died in 1867 at an advanced age; Lachmann had preceded him as early as 1851. His follower and son-in-law, Moritz Haupt, carried on most successfully the great tradition of Lachmann's textual criticism. Like Lachmann, he combined in himself both classics and Germanics, a scholarly ideal that soon fell victim to the advance of specialization. Adolf Kirchhoff of Berlin had followed in Boeckh's footsteps while the master was still alive, first with his *Umbrian Monuments* and then by his collaboration in the Greek Inscriptions. His studies in the history of the Greek alphabet grew out of this work; so did the book on Thucydides and his compilation of documentary sources in which Boeckh's magnificent epigraphical undertaking was made to bear fruit for the history of writing and literature. On the other hand, he applied Lachmann's method of textual criticism to Greek literature in his editions of the tragic poets, Euripides and Aeschylus, as well as of Plotinus. As an analyst, he opened many new paths for the investigation of the Homeric problem; for a long time it seemed that he had made a lasting contribution to this field with his two books on the Odyssey. Lately, of course, his results have become open to question. I remember very well the day Wilamowitz rose in the lecture hall to share with us the news of Kirchhoff's death; he then devoted the rest of the hour to sum

up the significance of his life's work and of his scholarly achievement which went far beyond the limits reserved for epigraphy.

All his life long Moritz Haupt remained an orthodox follower of Lachmann, and Wilamowitz recalls in his memoirs, how, as Haupt's student, he began by neatly dissecting the entire *Iliad* into separate lays. Haupt made a lasting and vivid impression on all who had listened to him in person, an impression which his disciple, Christian Belger, sought to keep alive for future generations in his book, *Moritz Haupt als akademischer Lehrer*. When I began my first semester at Marburg in 1907, Ernst Maass, Wilamowitz' oldest student, gave me his copy of Belger's book, telling me to come back after I had read and "pondered it." This book strengthened my inclination for textual criticism and gave me for the first time a clear picture of the task and the ethos of teaching classics at the university. The three volume collection of Haupt's shorter works contains masterly examples of the philological method as it was practiced by the followers of Lachmann and which, around 1870, was an unchallenged institution. It was this methodological certainty which characterized the scholarship of those days; in Friedrich Ritschl's wide-spread and influential school it also took precedence over the interest in realities and in the wealth of ancient life to which Boeckh had always given priority. This same methodological tendency was continued by Johannes Vahlen, the disciple of Ritschl, in Bonn, who came to the University of Berlin in 1874 as the successor of Haupt. When I studied there later from 1907 to 1911 under Wilamowitz and Diels, this older philology, whose representatives still spoke Latin, maintained its place in spite of the new more broadly conceived program of ancient studies. Its main representative was the striking personality of Johannes Vahlen. I had the privilege of hearing his lectures and of undergoing the strict discipline of his seminar for two semesters. If any young scholar today is still interested in such matters, he can study Vahlen's method only in the subtle interpretations and emendations of his classic *Opuscula academica* and in his editions, such as Cicero's *De legibus* and the *Poetics* of Aristotle.

Vahlen's papers of the *Poetics* threw new light on the understanding of this treatise. But his supreme achievement, unsurpassed even today, was the reconstruction of the poetry of the first great Roman poet, Ennius, through the collection and critical study of the extant fragments. What he taught better than anybody else was the painstaking observation of "linguistic usage" in the Greek and Roman writers; and the cautious precision of his method saved them from the overhasty interference of purely conjectural emendation, all too plentiful in the fifties and sixties. Vahlen continues to live in my memory as the stubborn confuter of the false conjectures of learned men.

The picture of Berlin philology during those years would be incomplete if one were to omit other scholars, less interested in philology in the narrower sense. Ernst Curtius had followed in the footsteps of his teacher, Karl Otfried Müller. First, continuing that scholar's researches in Greek tribes and cities, he had published his beautiful work, *Peloponnesos*, in two volumes. In it he provided Müller's work on the Dorians with a topographical and geographical background, acquired by a combination of autopsy and source study. This interest started him on the road to archaeology and to the great project of the excavations at Olympia, which continue to be carried on today by the German Archaeological Institute and which recently, with the discovery of Phidias' workshop, gave us important new finds. Curtius' *Griechische Geschichte* in three volumes which has been published in many editions and translated into other languages, combined that admiration for Greece so characteristic of the Romantics (to whom, like his friend Emanuel Geibel, he belonged at heart), with the liberal's enthusiasm for the Greek ideal of freedom (less congenial to K. O. Müller's Doric paradise than to George Grote and the political spirit of English parliamentarianism). Curtius' concept of Greek history, as he traced it down to the battle of Chaeronea and the final loss of liberty, came into being before J. G. Droysen's epoch-making discovery of "Hellenism." Since then it has undergone drastic changes due to the surprising finds from the early age of Greece which have

changed the picture even further, and his Ionian theory has few supporters left. But the rebirth of Olympia remains a great scientific achievement. The humane spirit, which breathes from everything that Ernst Curtius has given us, is often sorely missed in the era of positivism whose advent he watched with anxious forebodings. Curtius' home was a cultural center for the Berlin of those days; this could not have been said of the contemporary philologists. They were pure scholars and in that respect they were great men. They, too, were liberals, especially that giant among men, the great authority on Rome and its history, Theodor Mommsen, who taught ancient history at the University of Berlin from 1858 on. Like the classical philologists, Otto Jahn and Moritz Haupt, he had been dismissed from office because of his liberal sympathies during the revolutionary days after 1848. This fate Curtius escaped, for at the time of the March revolution he was tutor to Frederick, later to become Emperor, and his sister Louise, the children of the prince of Prussia. He was, however, always closer to the spirit of Weimar with which Princess Augusta was imbued than to that of her simple soldier of a husband, later the Emperor William I. This, then, was the group of classical scholars under whose leadership philology entered into the new reign of the University of Berlin, inaugurated by Bismarck's establishment of the Empire. This great event probably left none of them unscathed, yet none was as drastically affected by it as were many other great scholars. (We need recall only Leopold Ranke, Sybel, Gregorovius, not to speak of Heinrich Treitschke, the patriotic historian and passionate propagandist whom Mommsen barred from admission to the Berlin Academy of Sciences, as long as he had a voice in it, even though later he was unable to bar him from the garden of the university where they both have their statues.) It is chiefly in the younger generation that we see most clearly the strong effects of Bismarck's Empire as a turning point of destiny. The fiery speech of young Ulrich von Wilamowitz, *Von des attischen Reiches Macht und Herrlichkeit*, reflects a new political mood to which he continued loyal thereafter; in it were fused the national experience of the 1870's with the conserv-

ativism native to his East German home. But there was still a long way to go before he took over Curtius' chair in 1897.

From what has been said, it may be seen that philology proper, which at that very time provided the stimulus for the study of the modern languages and literatures and whose influence helped in the setting up of a number of chairs in the modern languages, remained, because of its methodology, restricted to a particular sector of ancient literature. But that sector it controlled with consummate mastery. When the study of ancient art or politics resulted in new disciplines and approaches which attracted a far greater public attention than did traditional philology, that was but a consequence of this division of labor. Yet philology with its critical treatment of sources, literary as well as epigraphical and papyrological, always remained fundamental to archaeology and ancient history. This pooling of resources was most thorough-going in the field of epigraphy, from the early days of the school of August Boeckh to the climax in the person and scholarship of Theodor Mommsen. With him historical research had become wholly philological, especially with the organization of the huge masses of inscriptions of which the great historian was throughout a leading spirit. Thus he dedicated a great part of his life to editing the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions. At times the role of philology and documentary scholarship, not excluding medieval and modern history, has been deplored and censured as pedantry, "Philologismus" as, for example, by Benedetto Croce in his book, *Teoria e storia della storiografia.* Friedrich Nietzsche, in his treatise *Von Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*, asked for a more monumental mode of presentation. But in an age when all the disciplines were turning to an examination of factual data and when no one was any longer content simply to retell the reports of Thucydides and Tacitus, the new direction given to Roman history in the school of Mommsen could not be checked.

A parallel development occurred in the fields of ancient philosophy, law and the history of theology. As the historical approach became more prominent, philology as the indispensable instrument for historical research came to rival

the older form of systematic scholarship. The other disciplines became more and more philologically oriented, while philology in the narrower sense kept aloof, at least to begin with, and merely rejoiced in its growing reputation. Its application to modern languages had no effect on its own methods; on the contrary there was a general endeavor to utilize its techniques in the new fields, in the spirit of Lachmann, Haupt, and the brothers Grimm. Müllenhoff's history of German antiquity is both an enduring monument to the rise of Germanic studies and at the same time a creative achievement in the field of classical philology. Mommsen's fruitful research in Roman law was strictly philological; it moved toward the history of law, away from the traditional system of the Roman civil code, which flourished only as long as the judges continued to base many of their decisions on the *corpus iuris*. The study of other important areas of ancient cultures such as Greek philosophy was also completely remodelled; philological techniques were brought to bear upon both the history and the writings of the ancient philosophers and their interpretation. Hermann Bonitz brought his incomparable learning to the teaching of the philosophy of Aristotle at the University of Berlin, while at the same time occupying the posts of principal of the gymnasium *Zum Grauern Kloster*, and of undersecretary of education for Berlin. Earlier he had occupied a similar post in Vienna, where he had reorganized the Austrian system of higher education. His two greatest achievements, the Latin commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle and the folio volume of his *Index Aristotelicus* in the Berlin Academy edition of that philosopher, still count among the cornerstones of the new approach to ancient philosophy, compounded of philosophical and philological judgment, upon which Schleiermacher in his later years had set his sights. Bonitz had studied under Gottfried Hermann, Boeckh and Lachmann, but supplemented their methods with the critical insights gained from the ancient commentaries on Aristotle, one of which he himself edited, the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias on the *Metaphysics*. Yet even though philology contributed so much to the development of this new branch of knowledge, the

philologists themselves did not work in this field. Even Vahlen's publications concern Aristotle's *Poetics*, in which the philologists were exclusively interested, rather than the other treatises; while Eduard Zeller's tremendous achievement, the five volume *Philosophy of the Greeks*, although built on a philological-historical foundation, is, of course, essentially philosophical. It was not until Hermann Diels that ancient philosophy finally took its place among classical studies in Berlin; as such, its importance in my student days was considerable. But that was due to the influence of Bonn; in this regard Diels was a true follower and disciple of Hermann Usener. In his reminiscences Zeller speaks of the colleagues whom he found at the University of Berlin when he was called there in 1872 and to whom he was deeply indebted. He met them at the so-called *Graeca*: among them were the historian Ernst Curtius, Theodor Mommsen, J. G. Droysen and the archeologist R. Schöne. He does not mention any classical philologists of the time. Only later Hermann Diels is added to the list. Philology in the narrower sense formed the nucleus around which the great advances of the knowledge of antiquity, the new discoveries in such diverse fields as art, culture, philosophy, politics and law were made. Without philology, the new disciplines, with their hopes for the future, were unthinkable, yet the vital impulses did not come from it.

When the University of Berlin was first founded, philology had entered upon a mighty expansion, its transformation into the science of antiquity. After the period of its greatest coverage under Boeckh, a contraction had set in, a return to the purity of methodical work upon the text, the ancient *techne grammatike*. But the proliferation of so many new disciplines concerned with the content of ancient culture brought about a creative tension with traditional philology; in the end the demolition of the fences between them became inevitable. This return to Boeckh's idea of *totius antiquitatis cognitio historica et philosophica* did not originate at Berlin. The two great masters who carried on the fight in Berlin, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Hermann Diels, were both trained at other universities. Diels was

deeply influenced by Usener, whose tenure of the chair at Bonn left its mark in his contemporaries. Wilamowitz studied there also, but only for a brief period; soon he elected Mommsen and the spirit of his historical scholarship as his model (see the correspondence between the two scholars). He applied Mommsen's perspectives and methods to the study of Greek antiquity which at the time was more closely tied to the tradition of German classicism. Although in this brief sketch a full accounting is impossible, a few words must be said of the revolution brought about by these men and their world-wide influence as scholars.

Diels was early drawn by Usener to Greek philosophy and the history of religion. Like Wilamowitz, he brought from Bonn an all-embracing ideal of classical scholarship which centered more and more on history of philosophy as formulated in the Hegelian school. This found voice especially in Eduard Zeller's remarkable work, *Grundriss der Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie.* Diels, following Usener, studied those special problems which give the philologist scope for his own proper tools and perspectives. Usener had shown the need of going beyond the works of the surviving giants, Plato and Aristotle, and of focusing on the whole of ancient thought. Historical reconstruction was in the air; Usener sought, by analyzing the sources and collecting the fragments of the lost works of the early thinkers which were scattered throughout the writings of late antiquity, to recover their philosophy and to restore to life whole periods of Greek philosophy for which previously the history books had been able to show nothing but blank spaces. Similar attempts had been made before, but the school of Usener was the first to carry them through systematically, restoring and gaining recognition for the philosophy of the Hellenistic period, especially Theophrastus, Epicurus and the Stoa.

Diels was a young man when he carried this work further with the great achievement of his early career, the *Doxographi Graeci*, in which he traced back the whole tradition of the history of philosophy in late antiquity to the work done in this field by the school of Aristotle. This prepared

the ground for the superb accomplishment of his mature years in Berlin, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Today we cannot understand how Greek philosophy could ever have been studied without this basic work. It was the first to provide the key for the earlier phase of Greek thought; if we have since striven more intensively to appreciate the meaning and significance of these original thinkers, it is due in large part to him. But indirectly Diels also greatly affected our understanding of Aristotle, when with the collaboration of a staff of young colleagues, many of whom he himself trained, he brought out the first critical edition from the manuscripts of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* in twenty-eight volumes, under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The material made available by the project not only produced a host of presocratic fragments but also fundamentally affected the text of the works of Aristotle; for the ancient commentators threw much new light upon our manuscript tradition which is of considerably later date than the text read by them. Diels' monographs on Heraclitus and Parmenides are connected with his work on the presocratic fragments; so too is his collection entitled *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta*. He also worked as a papyrologist in editing the newly discovered commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus* and that of Didymos on the *Philippics* of Demosthenes. When the *corpus* of commentaries on Aristotle was completed, Diels turned to an even larger task of organization, also under the sponsorship of the Academy, but planned as the joint undertaking of several academies: the *Corpus medicorum graecorum*. It is still unfinished, but through it Diels continues to set the task even to the present generation of researches. We cannot touch here on his beautifully conceived essays, his monographs such as the two entitled "Sibyllinische Blätter" and "Elementum," or his series of lectures on ancient technology. His last great work was the de luxe edition of Lucretius, his favorite poet, with a German translation. Diels was the perfect philologist whose strength lay in self-imposed limitation, shown by his concentration on the philological and editorial aspects of the field. His philology was an encyclopedic knowledge of antiq-

uity. By temperament he was led to emphasize the rational, the scientific and the philosophical; and, as happens often, his special gifts were brought to their peak of technical skill in his very first work, the remarkable *Doxographi Graeci*, an achievement incomparable both in its control of the material and in its structural organization. It simultaneously complicated and simplified subsequent work on the secondary sources for the history of ancient philosophy, and enlarged the share of philology in the work of understanding which must always be our true goal. The same may be said of that entire science created by Diels, the scientific study of the tradition of Greek philosophy and of the problems which lie in wait for us when we try to understand it. Yet in spite of the enormously expanded range of Diels' philology, it remains, by the limits he imposed on it, closely linked to philology in the traditional sense of the word.

It was the influence of Eduard Zeller which got Diels, the young professor, admitted to the Berlin Academy a few years after the publication of his *Doxographi*. Zeller realized, without any envy, the tremendous progress in the history of Greek philosophy made possible by Diels' work and the relationship between the two scholars was always one of mutual admiration and respect. The University of Berlin and its philological faculty were less enthusiastic when in 1882 they found themselves obliged to appoint Diels associate professor. In later years Diels entertained me with his account of the formal visit, top hat and all, paid him by the full professor of Greek, Adolph Kirchhoff, accompanied by his sister, who kept house for him. After some rather stiff conversation, Kirchhoff began to warm up, until his sister had to remind him: "Mein Liebes Kirchhoffchen... I am afraid it is time for us to leave." But Wilamowitz told me later that the opposition of the older generation to Diels' participation in the philological seminar was finally overcome only after he himself was called to Berlin, and the two "juniors" offered their "Proseminar" with its freshness and vigor to compete with the established "Royal Seminar." For the new historically oriented study of antiquity, the Proseminar became the agency for meeting the needs of the

changing situation. The articles and monographs written for it dealt with all areas of antiquity, and not just with the texts of the well-known authors. In the end, after Wilamowitz and Diels began to be involved also in the Seminar, the same became true there. But side by side with them, after Kirchhoff's retirement, Vahlen continued, well into his eighties, to represent the true old style, in sparkling Latin. He is bound to have regarded the methods of the new way as weird, that is, too comprehensive in its coverage. He always held to the virtuoso manner of handling a text which is seen at its best in the samples of his *Indices lectionum aestivarum et hibernarum.* Much has been lost with this superb art, in spite of all the growth in material and in thought; yet without this expansion we cannot conceive what would have happened to philology.

Wilamowitz' philology developed during his years of teaching at Griefswald and Göttingen. He came to Berlin only in 1897 after years of struggle during which Mommsen was his constant support, while Ernst Curtius steadfastly held to the opinion that Herr von Wilamowitz was always changing his views. Now Wilamowitz became his successor. At that time Wilamowitz was already a world-renowned scholar, almost fifty years of age. When, as a student, I first met him ten years later, he was a venerable old man with silver hair, dressed in an old-fashioned dark frock coat. The all-powerful secretary in the ministry, Franz Althoff, had called him to his chair. One of the inevitable consequences of the educational policy of his Imperial Highness had been that the humanistic gymnasium had lost its monopoly among the German schools. Now Althoff's aim was to restore on the university level what had largely been lost on the secondary level of German education: the life-giving contact of young minds with the spirit of antiquity. Wilamowitz had to pledge himself to give weekly lectures of general interest for a wide audience of non-classicists. In my time, these lectures, held on Monday and Thursday evenings in the Auditorium Maximum of the University, were very popular with the most cultivated members of Berlin society. Wilamowitz was a born lecturer. His public addresses were powerfully effective.

In addition, he always gave a private four-hour lecture course and a seminar. He was exempted from any examination duties. When he became a member of the Berlin Academy, he said of his role in this body which was so important to him that he never missed a meeting: "I think of it along Mommsen's line." The same is true of his concept of philology as a whole. In the spirit of that great master he conducted it as a comprehensive historical study of antiquity. And when Diels and he founded the Institut für Altertumskunde, he had a larger than lifesize bust of Mommsen, as "*heros ktistes*," built into the façade to greet those who entered, with Olympian brow. In this Institute ancient history and philology were together; archeology with its whole plaster pantheon was on the upper floor. Classical scholarship thus occupied almost the entire new wing of the University which was added during my student years. It was on the side of the Universitätsstrasse, at a place which had once been a chestnut grove; now it was no longer possible there to idle away one's noonday hours on hot days. The new edifice provided a very worthy setting for a great idea, whose execution reflected the spirit of the decade following the foundation of the German Empire. The new classical scholarship was itself a kind of empire in the world of learning where it held an eminent place.

Wilamowitz' greatest works were dedicated to the revival of Greek classical poetry and literature. This was the point of departure for the two volume *Euripides Herakles* and the *Einleitung in die attische Tragödie*; in his old age he returned to it again with the great works on Homer, Plato and Pindar. Between lay years of very intense research in the new world of Hellenism which had fascinated him from the start. The re-awakening of interest in this period is in large part due to him. His early book *Antigonos von Karystos* was a bold advance into the post-classical period; his *Isyllos von Epidauros* had prepared the way. He edited the Greek bucolics and Callimachus. His outlines of a history of Greek literature written for Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart*, continue to show his dominant interest in this hitherto less thoroughly worked area of late Greek literature. We feel

the delight he took in his new discovery and in his daring, for once, to push the classical period into the background in order to throw the later elements, not without some arbitrariness, into greater relief. In his old age he returned once more to his first love with the two volumes of *Hellenistische Dichtung*. His sense of history, however, did not allow him to rest content with Hellenism. Already in the written comments which, in the short contributions which as a young man in Griefswald he sent to Mommsen concerning the fifth volume of the *Römische Geschichte* (now to be found in the published correspondence of the two scholars) he reveals an astonishing mastery of Greek culture and literature under the Roman Empire, a field on which he later gave many lectures. Another bias of dogmatic classicism which was meaningless for Wilamowitz was the exclusion from classical philology of the Greek and Roman literature of the Christian era. The Greek reader for high schools compiled by him gives clear evidence of this significant broadening of the field of vision, including as it does Christian writings such as the *Didache*, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and Clement of Alexandria. In his lectures at the University also, I remember most vividly, he strove to illustrate his new concept of philology by using this selection of texts. On many of his followers this had little or no effect, but I for one was deeply impressed to see how historical insight was creating the conditions for a truer understanding of an area hitherto entirely neglected. Even in my earlier years I had, through my work with the early Christian writers, come to the conclusion that the focus of classical scholarship needed to be expanded in this direction. In numerous articles and notices, Wilamowitz touched on the most varied aspects of the constantly growing mass of new material; his collection of shorter papers have given us an increasingly more complete, remarkably rich, picture of this process. Each paper is fresh evidence of his attempt to make the whole of antiquity his own; in each, often in spite of unavoidable brevity and sketchiness, he goes unerringly to the essential point, formulating problems that opened the way to other scholars.

Wilamowitz always pointed up the nature and scope of his scholarship by showing how many different subjects had come to be part of its business. It is this wealth of tasks, tackled by him with unfailing resources of human interest and scholarly judgment, which forms the first and strongest impression produced by his vast achievement. Any light that the transmission of material or the improvement of techniques might be expected to throw on the subject matter, he was able to furnish; he had mastered all of ancient literature from beginning to end, but also the so-called antiquities, which in his hands turned into living history. He controlled the newer sources such as papyri and inscriptions, and he strove to gain access to ancient art, particularly as it completes our picture of ancient life, as e.g. in the vase paintings. Systematic presentation, in fact, all systematizing was alien to him. Where he seems to attempt it, as in his study of Greek *Verskunst*, or in the two volumes published after his death, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, a little study reveals that here too he is dealing in particular facts, not in general theories, common enough as they are especially in these areas. His last books were chiefly annotated editions; he is always the interpreter, bringing his whole store of learning to bear on specific points. As a matter of fact (in this regard Curtius, his predecessor, was right), Wilamowitz really was always ready to learn fresh lessons. We must always measure him by his own standard. He was a giant with an insatiable desire for facts, engaged in a Faustian struggle with historical reality. The distant sheen of a brilliant past: that, for him, was life. That was his philosophy, if we may apply the term to a mind like his. He loved Plato but avoided philosophy, in its narrower sense, realizing his own limitations. Philosophy in a pure form as in Aristotle was alien to him. His life and his work were on an heroic scale. It never achieved full harmony for it was too violently stirred; old age did not bring him the tranquil contemplative philosophy of a Goethe. As a youth he watched with great hopes the rise of the German Empire; its long ordeal of weakness and confusion ending in its tragic downfall cast a dark shadow on the evening of his life, though it did not break him. In the

last pictures taken of him, his features are deeply lined, by bitterness but also by an unyielding truculence in the face of that fate. Whatever he did or suffered always had grandeur; in response to this, the world, at first so critical, in the end bowed before him with universal veneration.

The enormous influence he exercised on classical scholarship cannot be disputed. Mommsen had restored to it the dimensions it had known with Scaliger. Wilamowitz himself would have liked to have been known as the Master who united in himself the aims for which such different minds as August Boeckh, Gottfried Hermann and Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker had striven throughout the nineteenth century. In his brief history of philology which is full of bold sketches and formulations, everything tends to show that he sought to restore their concept of this discipline. Modelling himself on them and against their controversies, he attempted to get beyond the philology which prevailed at the time of his beginnings. When he first began his studies, philology was still nourished by a culture based on the dominating position in German education of the classical secondary school and the spirit of Goethian classicism. Wilamowitz helped a new understanding of the ancient legacy, a new historical perspective and confidence, to gain broad currency at the very time when state and sovereign were beginning to undermine this tradition and when humanism itself was put in jeopardy. But beyond the effect of this tension between cultural tradition and modern reality upon the outlook of a Wilamowitz, how could this outlook achieve any sort of continuity, based as it was on the unique personality of its creator? For the noisy bustling activity of so-called scholarship with all its journals, encyclopedias and mass-meetings has been little more than the long shadow cast by a few towering scholars.

After Vahlen's official retirement, the Berlin Faculty had called Professor Eduard Norden from Breslau to be his successor, although Vahlen continued to work on as Emeritus, unchanged, until his death, still giving his two courses and seminar every semester. Henceforth Norden worked alongside Diels and Wilamowitz, although twenty years their

junior. He was active chiefly in Latin studies, although all his work proves that, like his predecessor, he was *utriusque linguae peritus*. He came from the group at Bonn, at the time the most influential center of philology, where he had been a disciple of Franz Bücheler. During my student years at Berlin, Norden impressed me and the other students of the older Wilamowitz as a respected teacher who treated young scholars and the more serious students with great kindness and courtesy. He was a kind of mediator between us and the semi-divine Dioscuri, Diels and Wilamowitz; a happy arrangement for us younger ones, though Wilamowitz made it a matter of principle to be available to first year students, wherever he found a serious interest. Another way in which Norden helped to round out the picture was that, with every word, he made us sense his own veneration for the older masters. His procedure in lecture courses was consciously pedagogic; in this he differed greatly from Wilamowitz' method. But because of the large number of students who knew only Latin his formal and emphatic manner of teaching was necessary. Wilamowitz's lectures were attended only by those who needed no prodding. When he taught the history of Attic literature, for instance, he simply took for granted a knowledge of Norden's pioneering work, *Antike Kunstprosa*. Or again he assumed that the students were profoundly interested in the history of an important scholarly issue such as the Homeric question. But the majority of the students were grateful for Norden's attempt to acquaint the younger generation of students and teachers with the work then being done in Berlin and elsewhere. He did this both in his lectures and also through the systematically arranged *Einleitung in die klassische Altertumswissenschaft* in three volumes, which he brought out in cooperation with numerous colleagues. In his presentation the chief emphasis was put on problems, while the mere facts took second place. The work gives us an excellent idea of the kind of problems which were at that time considered significant and in what sense it seemed necessary to abandon the methods of an earlier generation. It was only natural that the work should, above all, highlight the enormous expansion which the new clas-

sical scholarship had experienced in the age of Wilamowitz and Diels.

For the rest, Norden was by no means just the spokesman for a certain school of scholarship. He had a thoroughly independent mind, and with the novel problems posed by him he greatly added to the richness of philology at Berlin. The great work of his early years, the *Antike Kunstprosa*, struck his contemporaries as new and daring because it concentrated philological investigation on certain basic phenomena of style, analyzing their elements and tracing them through centuries of tradition to the Italian Renaissance. This study of style, an enterprise in the tradition of ancient rhetoric, was Norden's *forte* in all his works. It drew its strength from an increased sensitivity to the beauties of language, which was his most unique gift. In his seminar, when specific textual problems were being discussed, his delicate response to the nuances of style could on occasion clear the air with something of a shock. With it, usually, the issue was decided; there was nothing one could do but try to feel what he felt; any challenge was out of the question. Anyone who was willing to do this, however, would in the end be enriched for life by new insights drawn as if by magic from ancient forms. Intuition of the form came first; the attempt to support the newly gained insight by observation and example followed only as the second step. We all owe a great part of our training to this gift of Norden's. In his later books such as the *Agnostos Theos* or the two books on Tacitus, Norden achieved new and important results by combining this form-analysis with research into the *topoi* of special literary *genres*. He thus contributed greatly to our understanding of the forms of prophetic speech, the style of prayers and hymns and also of ancient ethnography; what is more, his approach cast important light on the relationship in ancient literature between style and a writer's distinctive character. This perspective culminated in a kind of typological approach to literature which Norden shared with Friedrich Leo and other eminent Latinists of his generation. For Latin literature, it does, in fact, have much to be said for it, since Roman letters adopted Greek forms ready-made.

Norden's special sensitivity to matters of form unquestionably signalled a substantial advance over what had hitherto been considered objectively demonstrable. In his commentary on Vergil, his sensitive ear is put to the service of the detailed interpretation of a great classical poem and of the stylistic analysis of verse. It would, however, be wrong in his case to speak of pure formalism; for example, in his commentary on the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, in the *Agnostos Theos* and in his last book, *Aus römischen Priesterbüchern*, his sense of form merges with a feeling for religious content to the extent that it is expressed in sound and structure. Here Norden transcends himself as he does also in the two books on Tacitus' *Germania*, where the subject so fascinated him that he became deeply involved in the study of the Roman topography of Germany, breathing the very fragrance of the soil. The decidedly new thing that he derived from associating with Mommsen was to approach the study of Roman literature with a sense of history. It was no accident that in his old age he brought out an inexpensive popular edition of Mommsen's *Geschichte*, with an introduction by himself. For many years he had played a leading role in the editing of Mommsen's papers. His own lectures he would work out and polish like and artist. Rather than presenting a problem in the succinct form of an essay, he liked to pursue it through years of loving labor, reading and collecting until there was a book. His research articles are relatively few. This is connected with his preference for an abundance of data which earlier classical philologists from Boeckh and Welcker to Wilamowitz deliberately avoided. But this concern with facts remains of value for anyone who allows himself to be guided by Norden, even where the ultimate ingenuity of the result arrived at does not convince him.

This general survey would be incomplete without mention of the professors who taught in the Institut für Altertumskunde at the University of Berlin; they were the ones of whom the classics students in the various courses of the lower and upper levels of the Proseminar saw most. This organization of the teaching program was an ideal arrangement which complemented the full freedom allowed students

in the choice of lecture courses, customary in German universities, with a carefully guided and graded system of instruction. After passing a written examination, the students were admitted to the higher level of the Proseminar; there they produced regular commentaries on ancient authors and wrote a set number of studies on various topics which were then, in the course of the semester, subjected to a critique. This work in the upper level of the Proseminar marked the end of their classical training for the majority of students, who did not go on to the Ph. D.; at the same time it served to prepare them for the long paper to be written for their final examination (*Staatsexamensarbeit*). Only a very few went on from the upper section to the old philological seminar whose numbers from time immemorial had been ilmited to twelve. Admission here depended on a paper written in Latin. In my time there were more applicants than there were openings, hence competition was keen. Later there often were not enough applicants. The lecturers at the Institute originally used to be of the rank of associate professors but later there were some instructors (*Privatdozenten*) among them. Of those who were active in the first few decades of the present century, we should mention Rudolph Helm, Karl Meister, Rudolf Pfeiffer, Eduard Fraenkel, Otto Regenbogen, Friedrich Klingner. As these names indicate, the Institute was a training ground for scholars. To describe the later career and life work of these men is beyond the limits of this sketch. Contemporary controversies often enlivened the discussion in the Proseminar, enabling us students to participate actively in the progress of scholarship. In my time the historical section of the Proseminar was directed by Professor Otto Hirschfeld, disciple and follower of Mommsen. From him we learned not only the technique of reading Roman inscriptions but also the application of this important source of historical information to problems of Roman constitution and administration.

Papyrology was studied in the Old Museum, using the collection there, as was only natural, though many a classicist found the effort very great. Professor Wilhelm Schubart gave them the finest instruction they could wish for.

The towering figure in ancient history was Eduard Meyer. Philologists took it for granted that no true understanding of history is possible without a fuller study of the language of a people; but in classics this had meant only the Greeks and Romans, whose languages were learnt at school. Eduard Meyer's great innovation was the addition of the languages and the history of the Orient, the study of which had begun to develop rapidly while he was a student. He thus became the first historian of all antiquity, working within the framework of anthropology instead of that of the old humanistic ideals. After Meyer's retirement and that of Hirschfeld, Ulrich Wilcken took their place; he made papyrology an autonomous science, and this led to a return to Greek and especially Hellenistic history. Where at first it had been the inscriptions which had vastly increased available material, it was now the impressive papyrus finds which gave the lead to the younger discipline. All this can be mentioned only briefly, for it lies beyond the scope of our present purpose; however, it cannot be passed over entirely, for never was philology more closely and more fruitfully linked to ancient history and archaeology than during that period in Berlin. Wilamowitz, unlike his predecessor Ernst Curtius, never made archaeology a field for his own research, although he observed its progress with great interest throughout his life. Reinhard Kekule of Stradowitz was its very perceptive interpreter, especially in matters of style and form. This was after the temperamental Karl Robert, who had accepted a professorship in Berlin as a very young man, had quitted the city soon thereafter. Löschke had been trained in the Roman archaeology of Germany which flourished under his leadership in Bonn; he made the archaeology of the spade respectable. Ferdinand Noack, his successor, was the excavator of Eleusis. He systematically developed the archaeological division of the Institut für Altertumskunde.

The dramatic expansion of classical scholarship at Berlin in the years from Diels' appointment to the end of World War I contained within itself the seeds of future problems; the outlook was further complicated by the difficulties caused by the defeat of Germany and by the political upheavals that

followed. For a long time Wilamowitz had been concerned with the question of continuity. When the new law of compulsory retirement came into force, the writer of this article, the youngest pupil of Wilamowitz and Diels, was recommended by the faculty to assume the chair (1921). Officially I went to Berlin as the successor of Wilamowitz, but Diels remarked, with a smile, that in reality I was succeeding *him*. I had learnt from all of them, as much as I could, but I took it as a piece of comfort when a kind old colleague said to me: The true successor is always he who goes his own way.

It is not easy for me to speak about my own position in the Berlin faculty. On the one hand I was a product of the scholarship practiced in Berlin which certainly differed greatly from the humanistic culture of the lower Rhineland whence I came. On the other hand, as a student I had experienced the decisive influence of an older generation of German scholarship, the tradition of Schleiermacher, Trendelenburg, Bonitz, Zeller and Adolf Lasson. These men were a lasting monument to the impact of Greek philosophy on the Germany of the first half of the 19th century. Their way of studying Greek philosophy differed from the more philological approach of Diels, yet both were intimately connected; from the beginning I tried to combine the two. At the same time, my study of the history of philosophy fell in with the historical direction which Wilamowitz had given to the classics. Through this, my work widened out to the history of ideas. The combination of these elements is expressed clearly even in my first works: in the *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, the *Nemesios von Emesa* and in *Aristoteles: Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung*, which opened up new problems of interpretation on the strength of a re-examination of the history of the texts. Now it was possible to prove a slow shift in Aristotle's philosophical thought and to distinguish stages of his inner development. Although my chief interest has always been philosophy, and not only that of antiquity, I never wished to confine myself only to the history of philosophy. Hence throughout my professorial career I have worked in every field and every period of ancient culture. This served

to free ancient philosophy from its academic isolation as a history of systems or schools, and to tie it in not only with the evolution of ancient science but also with the issues and the changing aspects of ancient culture in general, such as education, the state and society and, above all, poetry and religion from which philosophy had sprung. This kind of perspective, bridging the divisions, leads to a view of the whole; to acquire it anew could only be healthy, as a counterweight to today's fragmentation of disciplines, necessary though it may be for the advancement of knowledge. This novel break with the conventional isolation of field was not so much dictated by general policy as it was the fruit of interpretation in depth, which has always been the special tool of philological knowledge and which now experienced a revival. Hence what this perspective meant in terms of method could be demonstrated most clearly and convincingly in the area of interpretation. But one man in his own lifetime could hardly be able to apply himself so thoroughly to all the subjects; this task would take several generations. Hence it was necessary to select special problems which would serve as specimens for the exposition of the method. In addition, larger complexes needed to be dealt with in a descriptive rather than an analytic manner. The former type of work is represented by monographs such as that on Diokles of Karystos and some others. The three volume *Paideia, die Formung des griechischen Menschen*, expresses the total vision. The view of the whole, no less than the analysis of particular segments, is generated by a thorough and laborious interpreting of the texts. The details of this process usually do not reach the printed page; they are left to the oral communication between teacher and student. They emerge into view only in the papers of the students who benefited from this training. It is thus that those years produced the *Neue Philologische Untersuchungen*, continuing the series started by Wilamowitz.

The same new preoccupation with the whole led to the need of bringing together in periodic meetings classical scholars, archaeologists, ancient historians and comparative philologists, in order to discuss the developments in these

various disciplines and the problems common to all. The first such convention was held in Weimar, several subsequent ones in Naumburg. What those meetings were like may be gathered from a collection of addresses edited by me, *Das Problem des Klassischen.* Two new periodicals, *Die Antike* and *Gnomon*, are further proof of the desire felt in those years to bring the isolated disciplines of classical studies together in a living unity and to instill into them the spirit of humanism. I founded the former in 1925 and directed it till 1937; the latter, created by Professor Gerhart Rodenwaldt and myself as an international organ for qualified reviews of works published in all branches of the study of antiquity, has survived all the storms and upheavals of politics and war. Professor Richard Harder, my earliest pupil, has edited the journal with eminent success. *Die Antike* was based on close collaboration between philology, history and archaeology; it made the intellectual activity of these disciplines known to the whole world of German culture and literature, giving it a place of its own there. During those years after World War I, classics in Berlin was also closely linked to philosophy and theology. This was only natural in view of its orientation toward the history of ideas and because of the importance of ancient philosophy to the two great disciplines of the academic tradition. The contact with theology is evidenced in the great critical edition of the complete works of the Church Father and Christian platonist, Gregory of Nyssa, a task proposed to me by Wilamowitz in my years at Berlin and on which I worked for decades. It is now nearing its completion. *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, a study of the rise of Greek theology from presocratic thought, is part of the same general area of interest. Plato, with whom Greek culture and philosophy reached their culmination, is dealt with, in the *Paideia*, within the general cultural complex, not as an isolated phenomenon. All my work during those years was conditioned by what my generation was striving for, by the quest for a new humanism that would restore their true significance to school, university and all education, by helping to understand their beginnings. The inclusion of humanism within the focus of the histori-

cally orientated study of antiquity was the final step in the process of transforming what had once been a humanistic study of the classics. That this humanism was rooted in the structure of Greek thought itself was demonstrated in my *Paideia*. This approach was not without influence upon the teaching in the schools, but, though this was an essential part of the philological scene in Berlin, we cannot enlarge on it here.

While I was yet teaching in Berlin, Professors Ludwig Deubner and Johannes Stroux were appointed there. So I can talk about them. The former happily provided, within the area of ancient monuments, a direction which corresponded to what I was proposing in the fields of literature and philosophy. Deubner's work in the history of ancient religions, to which he devoted most of his scholarly research, reached its highest achievement in his master work, *Attische Feste* (1932), which is distinguished by the full use he makes of all the literary and archaeological records and by its feeling for the life of the Athenian people as it is pictured in the vase paintings and in Greek drama, especially in comedy. Following Usener and Albrecht Dieterich, Deubner first investigated the survival of ancient elements in the Christian cult of saints and in the hagiographic tradition. This led to his edition of the *Vita* of the physician saints, Cosmos and Damian, and of the *Life of Pythagoras* by the neo-Platonist Iamblichos. Deubner's lively interest in archeology then made him turn to the institutional aspect of ancient religions, as is evident in *Attische Feste.* He was a gracious, chivalrous man, with true Baltic charm and a happy sense of humor. Johannes Stroux was Alsatian by birth, a pupil of Friedrich Leo, Eduard Schwartz, and Richard Reitzenstein. He came to Berlin as a Latinist to succeed Eduard Norden, after teaching for long or short periods at many other universities. Ancient rhetoric was one of his main fields; he was uniquely qualified to write its history — which unhappily he never did. His first book was devoted to a reconstruction of Theophrastus' theory of style, which, notwithstanding its tremendous influence on the later development of ancient rhetoric and stylistic criticism, still had to be recovered from the

traces which it had left in the rhetorical theory of later antiquity. Ranking alongside this accomplished literary work were Stroux's pioneering studies toward a critical edition of Cicero's *De Oratore*. This too was a scholarly achievement of great value, though it is to be regretted that the actual edition was never completed. But we are permanently in his debt for his contributions toward a reconstruction of the Codex of Lodi, the only manuscript that preserved the complete text of this invaluable Latin prose work but which had disappeared again soon after its rediscovery in 1422. Stroux introduced a remarkable degree of scientific certainty into his method of reconstructing the manuscript from its extant copies. As a Latinist he did not follow the fashion prevailing since Ritschl, which concentrated most heavily on old Latin and especially Plautus; he was rather like the Italian humanists of the Quattrocento, focusing always on Cicero's works and his all-powerful influence on the Western tradition. In his understanding of Cicero, Stroux was aided by a most valuable talent, one rare among philologists—a profound knowledge of Roman law. This, combined with Greek and Roman rhetoric, produced such marvellous jewels as Stroux's little book: *Summum ius, summa iniuria*, which is primarily concerned with the history of the concept of equity and the changes it worked in Roman law. His findings are important also for the history of the notion of *humanitas*. It is impossible to discuss here all his works. They are masterpieces one and all, wherever they tackle a problem of scholarship, and though they are throughout severely technical in character, each of them bespeaks a cultured mind, supplying concrete proof of the humanism supporting philological scholarship in Berlin at that time.

After Noack's death, archaeology was in the hands of Gerhart Rodenwaldt, a disciple of Karl Robert at Halle; he held both a professorship at the university and the directorship of the German State Archaeological Institute. This was an unusual appointment, a real key position. The Institute, which grew from the old Roman *Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, reached its highest development and its greatest professional range under his direction, as is shown by

the foundation of new affiliated Institutes abroad and the tremendous output of periodicals and monographs published by the Institute. Besides the excavations, the study of ancient art as art received tremendous impetus and guidance from Rodenwaldt's sure aesthetic judgment. At the time of its centennial celebration (1929) the Institute was at the acme of its international standing. At this congress, representatives of all nations took active part. Although the congress was organized into specialized groups, one concept dominated the whole meeting and formed the theme of the main address in the general assembly : the presence today of the spirit of antiquity. Professor Wilhelm Weber was called from Halle to take over ancient history after Wilcken's retirement. Weber was a very gifted and erudite scholar who impressed the students with his wealth of ideas. With his fiery temperament, he represented a new and dynamic type of historian, true to his own nature. It is quite impossible to evaluate his work here in detail. The work on the *corpus* of inscriptions in the Berlin Academy of Sciences was continued under the skilled leadership of Professor Günther Klaffenbach; so too was the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* of which I was in charge for twelve years after Diels' death. Nowhere else but under the auspices of the Academy could these joint scholarly enterprises, far surpassing the strength of any one man, have been organized. Their existence came to be an indispensable factor on the scholarly scene. They cannot, therefore, be kept distinct from the University and its curriculum, although no teaching is done in the Academy itself.

The political ascendancy of Nazi Socialism led to conflicts with profound consequences, affecting also classical philology in Berlin. Mention has already been made of the fact that the writer of this paper found himself forced to the decision to give up the professorial chair of E. Curtius and Wilamowitz and, like some of the ablest young men and like my revered older colleague, Professor E. Norden, go into exile abroad. In the following years philology was fortunate in having in Christian Jensen, the distinguished papyrologist and authority on Hyperides, Menander and Philodemus, a man whose achievements are of permanent value. After

Jensen's premature death, Professor Wolfgang Schadewaldt took over the professorial chair of his former teacher, Werner Jaeger, remaining in this post till after the end of the war, and doing significant work. He threw all his extraordinary power into the balance of the dangerous situation. With Stroux and B. Schweitzer, he took over the periodical *Die Antike*; working with them and the doughty Deubner he managed to keep scholarly activity at a respectable level. I cannot describe this period in detail as I had no personal experience of it. My own books, the *Humanistische Reden und Vorträge*, the *Demosthenes* and the *Diokles of Karystos* were produced on the other side of the Atlantic where I carried my work as a teacher first at Chicago and then at Harvard University. Even so they were a piece of Berlin and its classical philology, carried on during these fateful years in new surroundings. The twenties and early thirties seem today as the most fruitful period in our century and this is true also for the classics. The brutal violence of time and fortune has interrupted the process of quiet organic growth, as has happened so often in the history of human civilization. Although tremendous damage has been done and much of the expected harvest has been destroyed, the continuity of the tradition, difficult to maintain even in times of progress and peace, has not been broken, in spite of all the elemental disruptions which have followed one another in close succession. There still remains the hope that philology in the future will combine the necessary will-to-live with an equally strong memory of the past. Its tradition is nothing to be ashamed of.

SOLON'S EUNOMIA

Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Berlin 1926, XI 69-85; *Scripta Minora* (Roma : Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960), I 315-337.

In the *Constitution of Athens*, Aristotle's evaluation of Solon and his legislation is based on his poems which were still widely known in the fourth century. For this purpose he selects those poems that best portray the personality of the great man and his political activity. This selective principle would have seriously curtailed our knowledge of the general spirit of the Solonic reform, had not a poem, which Aristotle does not mention, been preserved for us in Demosthenes' speech *On the False Embassy* (255), where it is quoted extensively. This elegy on Athens, Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις, now the only political document of any length from the period before Solon became archon, permits us to witness Solon's growth toward his historical task. Thirty-three years ago when the new fragments were first discovered, Wilamowitz discussed the elegy together with the others and determined concisely and felicitously its relation to the events of Solon's life.[1] He also paraphrased the elegy, highlighting the crucial points of Solon's train of thought. Since that time there has been no further progress made in our understanding of this poem, since it has seemed a rather thankless task to subject lines, whose meaning is so universally human and so easy to understand, to any further analysis.

Aeschines, in his speech against Timarchos, contrasts the latter's uncouth manner as a public speaker with the noble bearing of Solon, portrayed in the famous monument at Salamis with his hand wrapped in his robe as the σωφροσύνη of the Athenian gentleman required.[2] Aeschines' ad-

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[1] *Aristotle und Athen* II, 305-308.
[2] Aesch. *c. Tim.* 25-26.

versary, Demosthenes, does not fail in his rejoinder to point out with some malice that the statue is not yet fifty years old and to emphasize the effective contrast between Aeschines' affected aping of the great orator's posture—tempting to one who has been an actor,—and his actual contempt for Solon's political doctrine. He then quotes Solon's lines on the injustice and greed of the political leaders which destroy the city, and on the divine protection extended over Athens.[1] He thus gives us the beginning of the great poem which we now read in many manuscripts of Demosthenes although not, to be sure, in the best. His own words (256) make this clear:

ἀκούετ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων οἷα Σόλων λέγει καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὓς φησι τὴν πόλιν σώζειν.

He must have quoted Solon's words as far as line 16, which says that, in the end, punishment will come, for Demosthenes speaks of the present retribution (εὔθυναι) in which the divine protection has once more manifested itself.[2] He therefore takes Solon to be saying that despite the evil intentions of the leaders in their greed for money and their violence, nevertheless the gods save the city and bring the evildoers to justice. That however is actually the opposite of what we now read in Solon's poem, which says that the leaders' hybris does not draw down vengeance on the guilty alone but rather that it drags the whole city and each individual, even the

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[1] Demosth. *de fals. leg.* 251-52.

[2] Demosth. *ibid.* 256: ἐγὼ δ' ἀεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σώζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν· τρόπον δέ τιν' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὰ νῦν συμβεβηκότα πάντ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐθύναις ταυταισὶ δαιμονίας τινὸς εὐνοίας ἔνδειγμα τῇ πόλει γεγενῆσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γάρ· ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρεσβεύσας καὶ χώρας ἐκδεδωκὼς ἐν αἷς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τιμᾶσθαι προσῆκεν, ἠτίμωσ' ὑπακούσαντά τιν' αὐτοῦ κατήγορον. ἵνα τί; ἵνα μήτ' ἐλέου μήτε συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἠδίκηκεν τύχῃ.

The words ἠτίμωσ' ὑπακούσαντά τιν' αὐτοῦ κατήγορον refer to the accusation of immorality brought by Aeschines against Timarchos, in order to get rid of this accomplice of Demosthenes and co-accuser in the trial of the Embassy case. ὑπακούσαντα (cf. § 290) means that Timarchus' prosecution of Aeschines was not a matter of unmotivated sycophancy, but had been requested by Demosthenes. (Cf. G. H. Schaefer, *Apparatus criticus* II 681).

innocent, along with them to destruction without the gods being able to do anything about it. This is so clear, especially in the latter part of the poem, that it would have been impossible for Demosthenes to quote it without making his audience realize at first hearing the complete distortion of Solon's train of thought. To my mind this corroborates and raises above any possible doubt Wilamowitz' acute observation that, since the conclusion of the elegy is so unsuited to Demosthenes' speech, the preservation of the poem as a whole must be due to some ancient grammarian and editor of Demosthenes, who looked it up and added it later to the text.[1] Its absence from the best manuscripts is sufficient proof that Demosthenes himself was not responsible for its inclusion.

The quotation of rather long poems and passages is not unusual in speeches of this time, as is proved by the 55 lines of a fragment of Euripides' *Erechtheus* and the 32-line quotation from Tyrtaeus in the speech of Lycurgus against Leocrates (100-107). Not infrequently at that period references to written law alternate with an appeal to *paideia* and its norms, particularly in the form of poetic quotations. That was especially necessary in cases which fell in a no-man's land between law and ethics, whose boundaries were not as clearly marked then as they are today, that is, in cases where the laws were not adequate.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι διὰ τὴν συντομίαν οὐ διδάσκουσιν ἀλλ' ἐπιτάττουσιν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐκλεξάμενοι μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἀποδείξεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συμπείθουσιν (Lyc. *Leocr.* 102).

This juxtaposition of νόμοι and poetry is significant for the Greek concept of poetry as a sort of educational legislation in the form of vivid τύποι and παραδείγματα. In the speech against Timarchos (141) Aeschines speaks of καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ λόγους, as if the judges were ἀνήκοοι παιδείας.

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[1] *Arist. u. Athen* II 306.

It was a way to escape the duty of applying the law too strictly and also to impress the great mob of the jury by one's literary learning. Nevertheless Aeschines himself picks up the Homeric quotations of his opponents to prove ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς τι ἤδη ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐμάθομεν and to quote pagelong passages of the poets on pederasty. No orator, however, would be so carried away by an unrestrained passion for quotation as to refute the very point he wants to make, and certainly not Demosthenes.

It is a fact that passages quoted from the law and other documents as evidence in a speech have often led to later interpolations and additions. In this case, then, if a grammarian did insert the poem, we need next to know how fully he quoted it. It would seem that he thought the poem worth preserving for its own sake, and that therefore he copied it down to the end. The *lacunae* are not, as one might think, intentional, in order to pass over someting less suitable; in all three passages only one line is missing, a line which could have fallen victim to a copyist's mishap. Hence it is not *a priori* probable that the beginning was shortened.[1] It is unlikely that one or two introductory distichs have been lost, since an editor of Demosthenes who did not hesitate to insert into his text all the rest of the poem, thus greatly expanding the passage actually quoted by Demosthenes, would hardly have scrupled to include these few introductory lines as well, and thus really to have given a whole. And what should we imagine an additional passage at the beginning to have said, since the thought of the poem is complete, moving, as I will show, in two interlocking circles? I confess that it is particularly this structural pattern that has led me more and more to the conviction that we have the

[1] This is what Wilamowitz believed (*ibid.* p. 307) probably because the poem begins with δέ. Now, however, as he tells me, he is inclined to hold that the poem is intact. The beginning with δέ is not unusual in prose; in poetry, since it appears only in scattered remnants, we are not usually able to decide with absolute certainty whether in a given case it marks a beginning or not. In a collection of poems it would be quite conceivable to begin with δέ. It is hardly probable that a stereotyped formula of introduction, such as ἀκούετε πάντες λεώι, would have preceded the recitation, because of the distinctive character of the extant openings of Solon's poems.

whole poem fully preserved. In any case, we must treat it as if it were.

The elegy Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις holds a middle position between those poems that are political in a narrower sense (where Solon takes a stand against the disastrous behaviour of the political factions and leaders of his native city or where he justifies his own official line of action), and the pure reflection of the "Prayer" to the Muses. In reality his latter poem shows us Solon trying to come to terms with the religious traditon from the viewpoint of his higher moral and social insight. Although he does not say so explicitly, all his words and deeds give the impression that his whole political effort was inspired by a religio-political philosophy of life. The elegy Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις gives us very clear insight into this relationship; it reveals as no other poem does the inner unity of statesman and thinker in Solon. Its severe criticism of the wretched conditions then prevailing in Athens appears against a grandiose background of religio-political thought, indicated here only in brief outline; it is more fully known to us from the prayer to the Muses, and its origin (as perhaps also that of the prayer to the Muses) must be dated at an earlier period of Solon's life. However, not only this criticism of conditions but also the political utopia of Eunomia, revealed in the second part of the poem, grows out of what we may call Solon's religion, a very personal synthesis in which traditional religious notions are combined with personal experience and contemporary assumptions.

The poem's first word, "our city" introduces us to a circle of men closely bound in the narrow unity of the ancient Greek polis : Solon is speaking to his Athenian fellow-citizens. The ancient elegy was by nature didactic, advisory, educational. It is always an address either to a community — a circle of friends, of comrades in war, in politics or in social gatherings, or the whole city — or to individual members of such a circle, to whom the speaker turns because of his inner bond with this community, even where he acts fully as an individual. Solon speaks first of what is dearest to them all — their city. It is seriously endangered through inner disorder and the strife between citizens which the poem

describes vividly. The common folk and the leaders are alike in their uninhibited struggle for profit and money, each class seeking to oppress the other and going to every extreme in violence, heedless of the damage brought upon the city as a whole. Solon seems to take it for granted that the very group which he addresses has already begun to fear that Athens may be moving to its ruin, for he abruptly demands the cause of this impending downfall. Do not believe it is the result of some divine doom (Διὸς αἶσα), he cries to the Athenians, the gods hold no grudge against our city; indeed it has its own special patron in heaven, Athena, whose hands are extended over it in protection; it is the citizens themselves with their greed for money and the leaders of the people — the ruling class of the old aristocracy — with their unjust ambitions, who in their folly will destroy this great city.[1] The future holds much unhappiness in store for them because of their great hybris (1-8). The misfortune here described as imminent has already come to pass in fragment 8 (Diehl). This fragment belongs to a poem which is several decades later. The events described in it — some small group of men has succeeded in seizing an illicit and tyrannical power over the city — are attributed by Diogenes [2] or by his source to Pisistratus and his followers. We are not anymore in a position to test this from the words themselves :

εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι' ὑμετέρην κακότητα,
μὴ θεοῖσιν τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε·
αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε ῥύματα δόντες,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.

Such an accusation against his fellow citizens derives special impact from the fact that long before, when it was not yet too late to check it, as we know from fragment 10, Solon had warned against the threatening growth in preponderance of individual leaders.

[1] Wilamowitz (*ibid.* p. 306 n. 3) interprets χρήμασι πειθόμενοι as a stopgap and takes the words to mean "bribed." But this meaning, though current later, is not involved here; the phrase refers, as in some other passages, to the greater motivating power, "out of greed."

[2] Diog. Laert., I 51.

This fragment strangely resembles the beginning of the Athenian elegy Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις, even in thought and form. In both situations Solon asks who is responsible for the disaster (future in one case, present in the other); in both his exhortation begins with the distinction of human guilt and divine μοῖρα; in both he lays the whole responsibility for their own misfortune on men alone. The μοῖρα of fragment 8 is synonomous with the Διὸς αἶσα of the other poem; but, as the genitive τούτων and the verb ἐπαναφέρειν prove, Solon uses μοῖρα here in a sense tantamount to αἰτία.[1] In both texts the significant antithesis θεοί—αὐτοί (sc. οἱ ἄνθρωποι), dominates the whole thought. In fragment 8 the strong emphasis on αὐτοὶ γάρ is further intensified by the following καὶ διὰ ταῦτα. In this peculiarly fixed arrangement with its sharp antitheses, strongly ethical in tone, both poems of Solon directly recall the speech of Zeus in the assembly of the gods which opens the *Odyssey*.[2] The poet there puts in the mouth of the god an almost philosophical reflection on mankind's own responsibility for human misery (32):

ὢ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιάονται·
ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί
σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.
ὡς καὶ νῦν Αἴγισθος ὑπὲρ μόρον Ἀτρεΐδαο
γῆμ' ἄλοχον μνηστήν, τὸν δ' ἔκτανε νοστήσαντα,
εἰδὼς αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον, ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἴπομεν ἡμεῖς,
Ἑρμείαν πέμψαντες ἐύσκοπον ἀργεϊφόντην,
μήτ' αὐτὸν κτείνειν μήτε μνάεσθαι ἄκοιτιν.
ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαο,
ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἱμείρεται αἴης.
ὣς ἔφαθ' Ἑρμείας, ἀλλ' οὐ φρένας Αἰγίσθοιο
πεῖθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέων· νῦν δ' ἅθρόα πάντ' ἀπέτισεν.

[1] This emerges also from καὶ διὰ ταῦτα in line 4; it contrasts with another αἰτία which might be said to affect the Athenians. "Portion" (*Anteil*) has too narrow a meaning for what Solon wants to say.

[2] The relationship of Solon's design with this text of the *Odyssey* does not seem to have been observed before; Diehl who carefully notes the parallels from Homer does not cite it, since he limits himself to those lines and parts of lines which are taken over unchanged. For an investigation of the history of forms we need a broader basis.

There is a striking resemblance between this oldest Greek theodicy, whose poet already belongs to the rising age of Ionian rationalism, and the two poems of Solon. In the text of the *Odyssey* also we find the antithesis ἡμεῖς (οἱ θεοί) — αὐτοί (οἱ βροτοί). It is expressed there in the gnomic phrase: οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιάονται, i.e. there is an explicit connection with the universal problem of the origin of human suffering. The cause of suffering often lies in man's own folly, not in a fate that comes upon him from outside. Solon's ἀφραδίῃσιν is a direct imitation of the resonance of the *Odyssey*'s σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν.[1]

Once we recognize the aetiological motif of the *Odyssey* as the model for that of Solon, the comparison opens up a wider perspective which proves important for understanding Solon's poem as a whole.

We are struck by Zeus' emphasis on Aegisthus' foreknowledge:

> εἰδὼς αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον, ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἴπομεν ἡμεῖς
> Ἑρμείαν πέμψαντες...

This is not without significance in the critical examination of the epic poet. The mission of Hermes to Aegisthus is clearly not part of the original legend; it is rather a transparent and somewhat weak contrivance used by this poet-skeptic, to make the execution of Orestes' vengeance on Aegisthus a typical example of human responsibility; for this, the moment of foreknowledge, of the conscious will, was essential. The narrative is constructed on the basis of this universal religio-ethical problem; but, as we find elsewhere in this late poet, creative imagination lags behind the will to grapple with so great a problem. However I must postpone a more detailed treatment of his personality to another time. This distinction of foreknowledge split in two the ancient Greek concept of a god-sent μοῖρα: the one is unexpected and sent by the gods, a fate properly so-called; the other, a fate consciously conjured up by men themselves, and in which the gods have no part save in carrying out the punishment. The

[1] The synonym αἰδρείῃ is used in fr. 10 in an analogous passage.

poet of the *Odyssey* does not call this automatic activation of divine punishment μοῖρα, but gives it a special term, ὑπὲρ μόρον, the development of which shall not be discussed further here. This division of the ancient hellenic concept of μοῖρα is of fundamental significance also for Solon's poem and indeed for his whole philosophy of life. In the prayer to the Muses, the two-fold division of form grows necessarily out of this new splitting of the old moira concept, as I hope to prove on a later occasion.[1] It is true that he does not take up here the concept of ὑπὲρ μόρον nor does he hesitate to continue using the words θεῶν μοῖρα for what in Homer is designated by the new term. The implication seems to be that the punishment (τίσις) brought on men by their own guilt also springs from a divine order. However, it is plain that Solon, too, like the poet of the *Odyssey*, deliberately distinguishes between this kind of "fate" and that μοῖρα which is fixed for men, without their doing or foreknowledge, by the gods. This can be clearly seen in the Elegy to the Muses. It is the presupposition for the sharp division between the Διὸς αἶσα and the αἰτία of "men themselves," which is featured in the two poems we are here comparing. This differentiation of a word into two meanings, one expanded and one restricted, is a common phenomenon; it so happens that we can show how a second concept of early Greek religion, ἄτη, which is related to that of μοῖρα, underwent the same process at the same time. The introduction of the human αἰτία, the doing of deliberate choice, leads here also to a division into an ἄτη in the wider sense, wherein man's own guilt plunges him to ruin and the genuine *ate* in the old sense of ἀπρόοπτον κακόν, which now receives a more restricted interpretation. Solon uses this word in the former meaning, for instance in fragments 3, 35 and 1, 13; in the latter meaning in 1,65 :

πᾶσι δέ τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν οὐδέ τις οἶδεν,
ἢ μέλλει σχήσειν χρήματος ἀρχομένου·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδειν πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας
ἐς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν.

[1] K. Reinhardt in *Rh. Mus.* 71 (1916) pp. 128 ff. has a different interpretation.

A fine example of the joint use of both the genuine archaic concept of ἄτη, now pared down to essentials, and ἄτη as man's own guilt, though in a very special sense, is to be found at the end of Aeschylus' *Prometheus* in a passage that apparently grew out of the same problem as did the lines of Solon referred to above. It shall be discussed here briefly not only as an example of how this problem developed in the sixth and early fifth centuries, but also because its poetic form is influenced by the same lines of the *Odyssey*. At the approach of the hurricane, Hermes warns the daughters of Okeanos, who do not wish to leave Prometheus' side, of the disastrous consequences of their defiance; they will have to pay the penalty alongside with the rebel :

> ἀλλ' οὖν μέμνησθ' ἀγὼ προλέγω·
> μηδὲ πρὸς ἄτης θηραθεῖσαι
> μέμψησθε τύχην μηδέ ποτ' εἴπηθ'
> ὡς Ζεὺς ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀπρόοπτον
> πῆμ' εἰσέβαλεν· μὴ δῆτ', αὐταὶ
> δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτάς· εἰδυῖαι γὰρ
> κοὐκ ἐξαίφνης οὐδὲ λαθραίως
> εἰς ἀπέρατον δίκτυον ἄτης
> ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας. (1071-1079)

The opposition between Zeus and the objects of Hermes' address (in this case not human beings but divine persons who act like humans, incur guilt and fall to their ruin, as occurs throughout the *Prometheus* where many human problems are transposed to a divine level), the part played by Hermes as προλέγων (~ α 37 ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἴπομεν ἡμεῖς), the explanation of guilt through ἄνοια (~ α 34 ἀτασθαλίῃ), as well as the strong emphasis on foreknowledge of the evil consequences (εἰδυῖαι ~ α 37 εἰδὼς αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον) make it quite clear that in the composition of these lines and in the whole situation Aeschylus has taken as model the classical example of late Homeric theodicy, the self-caused guilt of Aegisthus, and its poetic expression in the *Odyssey*.[1]

[1] It is not necessary to show here how this observation affects the interpretation of tragedy.

Let us now return to Solon. Aeschylus' intention is to represent the Okeanids' entanglement in the tragic fate of Prometheus not as the brutal and tyrannical act of a divine power, but rather as a destiny for which they themselves bear full responsibility.[1] Although warned by Hermes, nonetheless in their folly they knowingly plunge to open ruin. The poet emphasizes this point of foreknowledge through a divine prediction in order to lay on them the responsibility for their own ruin, and in this he follows the *Odyssey*. However, it is still necessary to ask what form this Homeric motif can take for Solon, a man of the 6th century, who does not live in a world in which the gods deal directly with man as in the Epic and in Tragedy. For him too, of course, it was true that only if his fellow citizens had been forewarned, only if their choice of evil was knowingly deliberate, could they be held responsible for their own downfall. But from what source could such knowledge come to them? This is the point which generates Solon's poetic plan. For now the present situation is so totally his own interior experience that he takes over the function of prophetic warner, which in Homer and Aeschylus is carried out by a messenger from the gods. By thus putting a human person in a divine role a further development follows: the prophetic warner does not speak as a divine herald of the future, coming down from Heaven with an authority entrusted to him through the command of Zeus, but by the natural superiority of human knowledge, which springs from the depths of his own spirit. No Zeus, but his own soul "commands" him to teach the Athenians what he knows. This imperious inner mission stamps the powerful line that is the poem's climax:

ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει.

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[1] Our concept of responsibility expresses the subjective aspect of the Greek αἴτιος; it signifies, not that a person is guilty of a crime or a misfortune, but that the guilty owes an accounting. Even where the latter is included, the Greek would use αἴτιος, αἰτιᾶσθαι, αἰτίαν ἔχειν etc. There is no equivalent in our speech for the shades of meaning in the Greek αἴτιος hence in contexts where the αὐτὸς αἴτιος is used for educational purposes, we must translate "responsibility" or the like. Let us point out also in passing, the connection of the problem of human αἰτία with the democratic principle of εὐθύνη.

The ethos of this line with its religious commitment, summing up all the ominous threats that precede it and linking them to the praise of εὐνομία which follows, has always been appreciated, yet we can recognize its inevitability only by comparing Solon's version with the Homeric and Aeschylean theodicies. We then see it is essential for Solon; he must emphasize his "mission" as a prophetic Warner, so that the citizens, who in their folly are blindly rushing to destruction, may have a clear vision of the outcome of their deeds, and bear the responsibility for their coming ruin. What matters most to Solon is that men bear the burden of full responsibility; the complementary negation that the gods are free from guilt, stressed in Zeus's speech in the *Odyssey*, appears only at the beginning of Solon's poem, as it were a marginal boundary stone. This once again indicates the great distance between Solon and the *Odyssey*. The melancholy resignation of typically Ionian contemplation, with Zeus seeking to exonerate the gods from the short-sighted reproaches of men, changes in Solon to a dynamic didactic ethos which lays hold of men as responsible agents.

The transformation of the Epic motif — the sending of a god to warn men — into Solon's mission as Warner at the bidding of his own spirit, determines the whole form and inner attitude of his message.[1] If the only proof of the authenticity of his mission lies in his own inspiration, he can convince his hearers only by the light of insight that comes from purely human experience. His use of the word διδάξαι is a sign of this. His message is composed of two clearly distinct elements: the negative (1-32), a warning of the disorders that follow injustice, and the positive (33 to

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[1] Solon also plays the part of Warner in the famous frg. 9:

δείξει δὴ μανίην μὲν ἐμὴν βαιὸς χρόνος ἀστοῖς,
δείξει ἀληθείης ἐς μέσον ἐρχομένης,

to which frg. 10, discussed below, seems to belong. F. Duemmler, *Der Ursprung der Elegie* (*Kl. Schr.* vol. 2 p. 407) relates the Warner motif to the supposed origin of the elegy from "patriotic ecstasy." There is however no essential connection here, as the derivation of the motif of the Warner in our poem from the Homeric theodicy proves. Duemmler did not recognize it as such, and does not mention it. It would have destroyed his hypothesis.

end), a panegyric on the blessings of εὐνομία. This diptych recalls Hesiod's contrast of the just and the unjust city; reminiscent also of Hesiod is the religious exaltation to which Solon's words rise, after the first lines about the people's greed for money and the injustice of the leaders. "They do not honor the revered foundations of Dike, who is witness of what is happening now and of what has ever happened in the past and who in due time will certainly come to chastise" (14-16). The whole atmosphere here is that of Hesiod's *Works and Days* for Dike appears as a divine person, as an avenger and as a mysterious witness, who at first watches injustice silently in order to bring upon it an unexpected requital in the end. A detailed analysis of the poem will show later (see below, p. 98) that this religious personification of Dike does not stand alone in the poem but that in the second part, Eunomia also, the sister of Dike according to Hesiod's *Theogony*, appears as a divine person. Other features also are easily shown to echo Hesiod's formulas and designs.[1] It is therefore not surprising that current opinion tends almost to identify Solon's Dike and his religion as a whole with Hesiod and his view of life.[2] They are separated by only one century. Yet how important is one century in the swift growth of early Greek thought! Is it not *a priori* unlikely that the stubborn-headed peasant's trusting faith in the intervention of the just judge from heaven should be the same as the philosophy of the Attic legislator and social reformer, deeply influenced by Ionian rationalism and political ideals? And is it not evident that Solon has the same relationship to Hesiod's

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[1] It seems that these relations to Hesiod have not been investigated. In regard to the "relationship" of Solon with Hesiod in general, cf. the following note.

[2] The remarks of V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum* (Leipzig 1921) pp. 83-86, about the relationship of Solon to Hesiod, especially in regard to δίκη, are not very helpful because, as happens often nowadays, his point of departure is the lexographical history of the word. With this method the conclusion is easily reached that there is little change in actual meaning; this is, however, deceptive, for beneath the unchanged word-meaning lie hidden very great changes in the structure of thought. To grasp what δίκη means to Solon, we must understand it from its foundation, i.e. in relation to the rest of his philosophy.

religious thought and style as to the theological passage in the *Odyssey*? Solon lives and moves in these forms, yet for him they are the old bottles in which a new wine is fermenting. We must not be deceived by the solemn religious character of his language at the high points of both the first and second parts of the Elegy. This is not a prophet, filled with the power of simple faith, who proclaims the inspiration of a god; it is a prudent political teacher, soberly instructing and guiding his people to understand the universal laws that govern the living relationship of men in their city by making them recognize the essential connection between the social behavior of the citizens and the city's welfare.[1] By this insight which, I repeat, is based entirely on social and political experience, the concept of Dike derived from Homer and Hesiod takes on an entirely new meaning.

By Dike Hesiod means the concrete "judicial verdict" of human justice from which the poetic and religious imagination easily moves on to the idea of a beneficent, benevolent power, awe-inspiring and divine. To Hesiod, this is a daughter of Zeus who, when outraged by men, flees to her father for protection. His Dike therefore is at one time a concrete divinity and at another a universal idea; this is true also for Solon's. In both cases it is due to the non-abstract nature of the universal in early Greek thought. However, Solon's Dike is no longer human jurisdiction; it is entirely independent of it and wins through where human jurisdiction fails. Unlike Hesiod's goddess, it could never be said about Solon's Dike that unjust men maltreat her and chase her from the city; human power cannot reach up to her sphere of action.[2] She needs the arm of no earthly judge to carry out her decrees; "Time" is her sole aid and ally; she comes "al-

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[1] Ehrenberg too (p. 86), referred to "clarity of political judgment" as the element distinguishing Solon from Hesiod. This formulation does not, however, take account of the fact that there is, as against Hesiod, a completely new structure in man's relationship to reality. Mere psychology is inadequate here where universal spiritual processes are involved.

[2] When Solon must explain why the goddess is angered at mankind, he invents a picture of man disturbing the venerable foundations of Dike (whether it be of a sanctuary or of an altar). That sounds much more abstract.

ways (πάντως), as Solon never wearies of asserting.[1]. In one text where the expression is a little less religious in color time itself is identified with judgment,[2] and if sometimes he also likes to speak of a divine requital (θεῶν μοῖρα) or of the vengeance of Zeus (Ζηνὸς τίσις),[3] these turns of speech must not lead us to underestimate the distance between the visions linked with these hoary beliefs and the faith of Hesiod. The ever-repeated phrase πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη, may seem the boldest paradox of religious certitude. But closer study leads us to conclude that to Solon this is rather an undeniable formula of experience. Thus, unlike the naïve archaic notion, his Dike is the immanent justice of events; one can no more defy it with impunity than one can defy the laws of physical health.

It is precisely this comparison of Dike to an inexorable disease falling upon a body with the logic of physical necessity that grants us a glimpse of the change its nature has undergone and reveals how modern is Solon's concept. Significantly, the comparison follows immediately after lines 14-16 in which Dike is presented as a divine goddess of retribution, waiting long in silence, but inexorably (πάντως) coming to wreak vengeance in the end (τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ). Solon's use of disease to illustrate the specific manner in which his Dike acts shows how he conceives its punishment:

τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἕλκος ἄφυκτον,
ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἦλυθε δουλοσύνην,
ἣ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμον θ' εὕδοντ' ἐπεγείρει,
ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην.

Here we must note the generalizing force of the πάσῃ: social injustice and class strife automatically and with ineluctable

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[1] πάντως, used of the coming of Dike, is a favorite word of Solon. Cf. frg. 1, 8 πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη; 1, 28 πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη; 1, 31 ἦλυθε πάντως αὖτις; 3,16 τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτισομένη; 3, 28 ηὖρε δὲ πάντως.

[2] Frg. 24, 3 ἐν δίκῃ χρόνου.

[3] These are expressions which Solon uses only in the "Prayer" to the Muses (Frg. 1. 25, 30, 75), that is, in a context where he deals with the religious tradition.

physical necessity produce their own punishment according to the law : that by which a man sins, by the same shall he be punished. In contrast consider Hesiod's picture of the divine punishment for injustice in the "unjust city" : failure of crops, famine, plague, barrenness of women, distress of war, distress at sea — these are the terrors which heaven sends.[1] Although Solon also enumerates the evil consequences of injustice, they are all essentially immanent, in fact, they are nothing but social diseases : party strife, assemblies which stir up hatred and throw the city into confusion, tyranny, enslavement for debt, and the inevitable fate of the peace-loving citizen drawn into the maelstrom of public misfortune even though he may keep aloof from partisan activities. The same significant difference occurs again in the Hesiodic picture of the "Just City" [2] and in Solon's parallel description of the blessings of εὐνομία. The concrete heavenly rewards offered in the former are the blessings of harvests and children, peace and glorious festivals, wealth of sheep and honeycombs; in the latter the promised dispensation includes public harmony, prosperity among the citizens, freedom from arrogance, covetousness, egoism and excess on the part of individuals, in short, the health of the social organism. Hesiod's divinity is pictured with naïve simplicity and so too the rewards and punishment which she brings. Solon's new and deep experience of the divine springs from his intuition of a meaningful immanent law ruling the social life of man and automatically keeping the balance of justice. This is analogous to what a few decades later is boldly taught by the Milesian natural philosopher, Anaximander : that there is, immanent in nature, a δίκη and τίσις which compensate for Becoming and its injustice by the Passing-Away of things. If in Anaximander we may speak of a "law" of δίκη, "divine retribution," in nature, a law manifesting itself simply κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν, then Solon may be said to recognize the natural law — *sit venia verbo* — of a socio-political τίσις

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[1] *Works and Days*, 238-247.
[2] *Ibid.* 225-237.

and δίκη which τῷ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθε.[1] Fragment 10 provides clear proof of this, for here he gives the same warning, as in our elegy, of the natural necessity of the punishment to come : of tyranny.

ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης,
βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς·
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται, ἐς δὲ μονάρχου
δῆμος αἰδρείῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.
λίην δ' ἐξάραντ' οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι κατασχεῖν
ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη χρὴ <περὶ> πάντα νοεῖν.

"By the same necessity whereby snow and hail come from the cloud, and thunder comes from the bright lightning; so the city, too, must fall a victim to its powerful individuals, and the people must, because of their ignorance, lapse into slavery to a tyrant." The meteorological parallels bring out beautifully the elemental power of the process, but also have a deeper purpose, i.e., to reveal the iron law of causality that governs political and social life, corresponding to the absolute necessity of nature. Similarly in Fragment 11 :

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις αὐτήν
μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη,

where the last word, borrowed from the sphere of politics and man, corroborates the analogical relationship between natural phenomena and social life.[2] There is no need to

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[1] Anaximander 9 (Diels) : ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστι τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεών· διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν. Anaximander presupposes a view like that of Solon, i.e. a δίκη immanent in legal and political life; this becomes cogently evident from the role of χρόνος as judge and from the inexorable nature of its sanctions.

[2] The beautiful simile of the sudden burst of a spring storm in the prayer to the Muses (Frg. 1, 18 ff.) is to be interpreted in a different sense. What is compared with the natural event is merely the elemental explosive power of Dike, not the factor of physical causality, which becomes prominent in the later poems. But the elegy Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις shows that these thoughts were already familiar to Solon in his earlier period.

dwell further on how closely these incipient observations of causal laws in human, specifically in political, life are connected with Solon's message of the political responsibility of the citizens. This earliest political aetiology, like its physical counterpart, continues to be theodicy which, as it were, forms a protective sheath for the growing concept of αἰτία and the idea of the eternal lawfulness of all that happens. Solon's religious feeling, intimately bound up with these thoughts, is genuine and not mere poetic imagery; there is no doubt of this. Solon's conviction springs from the popular belief in a personal Zeus, but it draws its strength from entirely new sources of spiritual insight into the nature of existence; so deeply is it penetrated with this new content and with the new forms of thought and outlook, that both seem fused in one. His new intuition of the causal connection of political events seems to him to prove the truth of the ancient concept of divine requital, and his new thought, both austere and sublime, is exalted and solidified by the unbroken religious force of the ancient names.

We now turn to the second part of the poem, which we have already necessarily touched upon more than once in the analysis of the first section; it corroborates all that has been ascertained up to this point. Darkness is relieved by full light. This sudden change has an archaic austerity that is extremely effective. The poet has learned from Hesiod that nothing so intensifies the impact on souls deeply shaken by an ominous warning as the vision of a desirable ideal shown to them at the right moment. The vision of εὐνομία which Solon presents to the Athenians, never ceased to stir the Greeks; utopia had always been the special form and one of the strongest stimuli of their political thinking. Solon's praise of εὐνομία shows that it is an error to consider it a specifically Doric ideal, as has often been done. Pindar's predilection for it proves nothing, for the old Greek nobility was always sensitive to the ideas of the new world pressing in on it from all sides. Moreover, that eunomia has its roots in political ideology and did not grow out of historical institutions is evident in the very form of the word and especially in the fact that the term is not, as is often stated, bound

to any specific system of government.[1] It is found to be associated with the most varied ideas, always depending on what a person considered εὖ. According to the Eunomia of Tyrtaeus—the title, be it noted, is late—the constitution proper to Sparta is authenticated by history; it is derived from the Spartan claim to the ownership of the city, that is, from Zeus' award of the legacy of Heracles to the sons of Heracles. This reflects the spirit of the Spartan state as we find it in history, with its combination of aggressiveness and divine right. The kings were Sparta's guarantee of her title to the land; this emerges clearly both from the conservative constitution of this tribe of conquerors, and from the Eunomia by Tyrtaeus. Solon's Eunomia (for this name can be extended to the whole elegy from the second part, as it is really a parallel to Tyrtaeus' poem), reflects the essentially different spirit of the Athenian constitutional and juridical state. His ideal is not one of the legendary past, but an absolute which he hopes to convert into fact within the conditions at his disposal. He can conceive this as possible only because this ideal appears to him as a kind of divine order, not divine in the sense of springing from some unique legendary act of the divinity conferring rights, as the gift of Zeus established the Spartan Eunomia, but divine in the sense that this order is distilled from the immanent necessity of the laws of political life, laws which

[1] In the 4th century, Sparta and Crete were held in honor as εὐνομούμεναι πολιτεῖαι, due to a reaction against the degeneration of democracy. The special character of the Spartan state is not part of the essence of εὐνομία; other states also see in it the ideal toward which they strive. In fact, Sparta and Crete do not really correspond to the ideal, as Aristotle seeks to prove when he shows that even there not all is lawfulness. — It is necessary to say a word here to dispose of the monstrous misinterpretation of εὐνομία as meaning "just distribution" derived from νέμω (Ehrenberg, p. 84), comparable to ἰσονομία in the sense of "equal distribution"; — an idea that certainly never occurred to Harmodius and Aristogeiton when they slew the tyrant ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην. Solon's antonym for εὐνομίη is δυσνομίη, a metrical substitute for ἀνομία, which surely no one would think of deriving from νέμω. εὐνομία rules where citizens obey and respect good νόμος; the νόμοι εὖ κείμενοι of the fourth century do not therefore exhaust the meaning of εὐνομία. It was not essential for the ancient νόμος to receive a fixed form in written statements, which as we know was never completely carried out, but it was essential that it be held in honor and obeyed.

cannot be defied with impunity. Thus the Eunomia of the second part takes its place beside the Dike of the first, i.e., like it springing from the very nature of things as both a human moral order and a divine exemplar.

On closer examination we find that formally the description of Eunomia is characterized by a consistent and distinctive style, which apparently has not been noticed in the past, but which is not without significance for an understanding of its nature. After the antithesis of the two lines 32-33, connected by καί with the second line linking the section on *Eunomia* with the preceding portrait of ἀδικία, there follows an asyndeton (34) in three parts, its words arranged in a doubly chiastic order :

τραχέα λεαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ.

This continues through four parallel predications joined by δέ, each of which clearly indicates its parallelism with its predecessor by anaphora of the verb : αὐαίνει δέ, εὐθύνει δέ, παύει δέ, παύει δέ. Of these verbs, αὐαίνει rhymes with the preceding λεαίνει, at the end of the colon πραῦνει corresponds with εὐθύνει at the beginning of the next line; clausula and opening are skillfully dovetailed; the sound of the poem receives further assistance from verse structure and syntax. After the pathos of the anaphora παύει — παύει, the closing line with the words ἄρτια and πάντα once more takes up the first line of this whole eulogy of Eunomia and thus brings the thought full circle back on itself again, all that lies between serving only as illustration of the previously mentioned ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει, repeated again in corroboration at the end.

The formal structure of this praise of Eunomia recalls the proem of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, closely related also in thought. So striking is the relation of these two passages that I do not hesitate to hold that Hesiod's lines, the object of so much controversy in the history of philological criticism, were in fact Solon's model. In the eulogy of Zeus, protector of Dike, — all of Hesiod's predicates refer to this function of Zeus; and this is, contrary to some views, what ties the proem to the rest of Hesiod's poem — in this eulogy

we find copious use of the same stylistic devices as in the last lines of Solon's elegy.

ὅν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὅμως ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε,
ῥητοί τ' ἄρρητοί τε Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι.
ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

This style is characterized by lavish use of parallelism, antithesis, isocolon, anaphora and end-rhyme of the cola, with the verb usually in the same place, — for Solon at the beginning, for Hesiod at the end of a colon. Of this γένος we have hardly any other examples from the early period, save here in Hesiod. The stereotyped use of ῥεῖα indicates that we are dealing here with ancient cult-poetry, with the language of hymns to the gods, as Hesiod himself says of the structure of these lines. At times, strangely enough, not only the authenticity but the antiquity of the proem has been denied; its rhetorical quality, it is said, dates it as belonging to the period when Greek prose first came into artistic prominence (the second half of the fifth century). It is true that there is a correspondence in form and technique, but the critical conclusion is to be reversed; the stylistic devices of early artistic prose are in large part taken from ancient hymnody as being naturally suited to the solemn epideictic γένος of encomia, epitaphs, epainoi.[1] As early as ca. 600 B.C. Solon had already used the proem of the *Works and Days* as a model; apparently he read it in the po-

[1] I will not discuss here the older advocates of the Athetesis of Hesiod's proem beginning with Praxiphanes, Aristarchus, and Krates. It was Ziegler who, in order to demonstrate its spuriousness, drew attention to the style and its contacts with the older prose of the gorgianic type (*Archiv f. Religionswiss.* XIV [1911], 392 ff.). Although this has been almost universally rejected, nevertheless the problem as stated by Ziegler has not been solved but only laid aside. Since the stylistic phenomena of the Hesiodic proemium stood entirely alone, no conclusion was drawn from them either in regard to artistic prose or to the ancient hymn. The importance, for the history of letters, of the proof that Solon's eulogy of εὐνομία is a hymn lies in the fact that Hesiod is thereby freed from his isolation.

sition in which it now stands. How could the striking similarities in form, of which we have no parallels from that time, in a poem dedicated to δίκη and ἀδικία, a poem modelled also in other ways on the Hesiodic *Works and Days* have appeared by accident? Solon's use of the hymn form implies that he also conceives the Eunomia of the poem's second part as a divine power, a sister of Dike and Eirene, not, to be sure, in the merely geneological sense of Hesiod, but vividly realized as a being of great power and rich blessings. This concept of Eunomia, not abstract, but concrete and convincing, gives its color also to the impressive series of verbs; all of them signify active force and present their subject operating independently.

The poem is a beautiful example of the organic character of the form of all true Greek poetry; essential, above all, is the relationship of the creative personality to the traditional form. The old forms, never merely stylistic and aesthetic data but posing a spiritual obligation, are filled with the changing feelings and thoughts of the time. The creative individual has the task of transforming the old coinage out of the inner necessity of this spiritual change. The point of departure in form as well as in thought is a given reality of universal validity and this too is the final goal of any creative act of this type. To define the individual factor (in the modern sense of the word) fused in this process is possible only indirectly and through full utilization of all the supra-individual objective elements which precise historical comparisons of form and content make available for us; and even this will be incomplete, since the creative person seldom wished to make his individual contribution known. He can never be himself the principle by which we understand the form. This precedence of the norm over the desire for self-expression as a tendency in Greek poetry is true not only for the thought but also for the style. It follows from the Greek poet's function as guide and educator in the spiritual organism of his people.

Yet it is in this unique fusion of the various supra-personal elements, which analysis seeks to isolate, in a personal pattern of unity and in the tradition-minded freedom with

which the poet carves out his new code, that we come to appreciate the distinctive character of Greek individuality, which constitutes one of the supreme charms of the Greek spirit. The poem discussed here springs entirely from the sphere of supra-personal ideas. Yet we can say of it no less truly than of the later poems, in which Solon's own thinking comes more strongly to the fore, that it is a mirror of his inimitable personality.

TYRTAEUS ON TRUE ARETE

SDAW 23 (1932), 537-568
Scripta Minora Vol. II pp. 75-114

TYRTAEUS ON TRUE *ARETE*[1]

I

The spirit of the early Greek polis found its ideal embodiment, expressing the inner law of all political society, in a great series of imperishable works, beginning with the poems of Tyrtaeus and Solon, and rising to a climax with the writings of Thucydides, Plato, Isocrates and Demosthenes, in which the problem of the state is of central concern. In this great tradition, the earliest poetic monuments of the polis concept occupy an eminent position. A few years ago I discussed in detail the significance of Solon's "Eunomia" as the classical record of the earliest growth of religio-ethical thinking about human society.[2] The problem of Tyrtaeus, the early Spartan political poet, is no less urgent; in fact Solon's "Eunomia" presupposes him both as exemplar and as contrast. To be sure, the elegiac poems handed down under the name of Tyrtaeus, like all Greek elegy prior to the Hellenistic period, are thought to be "easy to understand." So they are, grammatically speaking, but this view, held especially by Wilamowitz, is not reconcilable with the fact that as yet nobody has managed to show unambiguously how the poems stem from the historical conditions of a particular epoch. A glance at what the scholars of the past generation, among them some outstanding classical philologists, have proposed, would make it appear almost as if the poems

[1] *SDAW* 23 (1932), 537-568. Reprinted in *Scripta Minora* vol. II, pp. 75-114.

[2] "Solon's Eunomia" *SDAW* 17 (1926), 69-85; *Scripta Minora* vol. I, pp. 315-337. [See above pp. 75-99].

were common goods that could have come from any area and be attributed to any period between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C. Obviously one cannot get any further from merely subjective form-analysis nor from the search for single factual allusions. I want, therefore, to try a new approach of historical interpretation and have chosen for this purpose the 9th poem of Diehl's collection of fragments, the very poem held by almost all to be late and spurious. Before beginning the interpretation proper, I must first discuss in detail the question of authenticity and dispose of a series of preliminary problems.

According to tradition the poems attributed to Tyrtaeus, are concerned with Sparta's so-called second Messenian war. Eduard Schwartz,[1] however, showed by cogent and novel proofs that the jungle growth of what Hellenistic historians and poets say about the Messenian wars is analogous to the romances, and late in date. The collapse of the pseudo-historical background led Eduard Schwartz, who hitherto had approached this poem with an historian's interest alone, to a complete denial of the historicity of the Messenian Wars. And this naturally caused the poems of Tyrtaeus to be called spurious. If there had been no war with Messene the poems must be forgeries of a later age which believed in such a war and was eager to claim a greater authority for its own poetic products by linking them with so venerable a past.

The really strange story of the Attic poet Tyrtaeus whom the Spartans called to their aid in their hour of greatest need during the Messenian war and whose verses inspired their troops to combat and victory has, according to Schwartz, in spite of its late origin, a kernel of truth. The author did not live at the time of the Messenian wars, but in the fifth century;[2] the poetry of "Tyrtaeus" is, in fact, a product of Attica.

This radical reconstruction of what happened soon found its critics, especially in the person of Wilamowitz. He conceded the validity of Eduard Schwartz' sharp condemnation of the value of the Hellenistic tradition concerning the Mes-

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[1] *H* 34 (1899), 428.
[2] *Ibid.*, 467.

senian Wars; but he insisted that the wars were historical, as is implied also by the well-known Messenian revolts in the fifth and fourth centuries.[1] This increases the importance of Tyrtaeus, whom Wilamowitz likewise rightly retains as an historical person. His poems are now our only authentic source for these events: we can know only as much of the Messenian wars as can be gathered from Tyrtaeus. The fact is that poetry is the only written tradition of these early times; and antiquity had no more knowledge of them than we gather today, save from the few historical allusions which the ancient historians extracted from the poems of Tyrtaeus and preserved for us as quotations in the context of their own account.[2]

As a consequence of the critical attention paid to the issue of the historicity of the Messenian wars and of the relation of Tyrtaeus to them, the treatment of the poems attributed to Tyrtaeus entered a new phase. In the crucial historical discussion, all emphasis was put on the historical allusions in the poems, which were considered of great value. It is understandable that the presence of contemporary allusions seemed to provide the first legitimate criterion for determining whether or not the Tyrtaean poems did actually date from those early days. But allusions of this sort are, as we have said, quite rare among the quotations in the ancient historians. The more or less complete poems cited in Attic orators and philosophers or collected in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus contain no such historical references at all. Yet these were the poems that were most famous in antiquity. What then is their authenticity? In antiquity no one ever questioned it. But modern criticism, once made

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[1] Wilamowitz, "Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker" *AGG* 4 (1900-1901), 97 ff.

[2] Besides Ed. Schwartz' athetesis of the whole collection of the poems of Tyrtaeus, mention must be made here also of that of the "Eunomia" by Eduard Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (Halle 1892-99), vol. I, p. 226. He dated it in the 4th century B.C. and regarded it as a deliberate forgery, for political ends, on the part of the men around King Pausanias who opposed Lysander. Meyer did, however, object to Schwartz' athetesis of the rest of the poems. I shall dispense with a discussion of Verrall's athetesis in *CR* 10 (1896), 269-277; Verrall dates all the poems in the fourth century.

distrustful, took a decisive and fatal step : it established as the absolute and exclusive criterion of authenticity, the somewhat primitive but sure test of primary historical information, i.e., the existence of contemporary allusions.[1] Wilamowitz rather summarily rejected the celebrated elegy τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα (6. 7 Diehl), quoted by the orator Lycurgus for the purpose of the education of Athenian youth, and the elegy in praise of valor cited by Stobaeus, and also, in part, contained in the *corpus* of Theognis, which opens : οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείην (9 Diehl). He thus preferred to form his concept of Tyrtaean poetry from three or four short fragments, not from the complete poems. And yet we should have known that the picture was mistaken. For the few fragments in the ancient historians had been excerpted from the poems of Tyrtaeus according to the amount of historical information they contained. The very fact that they found no more texts of this kind is itself irrefutable proof that to demand historical references in all the poems of Tyrtaeus is an unwarranted generalization. Conversely, it is obvious that poems which contained only general exhortations were far more likely to survive and to become famous than poems with topical references, for the former would be significant in any similar situation, for any time, and for any city. Attic youths read these fiery calls to manhood not from any historic interest but because they found in them their own ideals. Will anyone claim in earnest that the very universality of the ideal of sacrificing one's life for one's native city makes it impossible to recognize the poems as true products of archaic Greek

[1] Schwartz, *op. cit.* 464, shows clearly how this conclusion grows out of disappointment at the poem's lack of historical particulars. "The historical ground for the evaluation of Tyrtaeus' poem is cleared. There is little of historical value to be gained from it." On p. 465 he speaks of the "nebulous paraenetic generalizations" of the poems, with the exception of the "Eunomia." Recently, after I had presented the arguments of this study before the Berlin academy, the historian Fritz Schachermeyr, *RhM* 81 (1932), 129 ff., produced a kind of *epikrisis* of the problem of Tyrtaeus, without entering into an explanation of the poems. He divides them into two groups, one with and one without historical allusions. He holds that the first, i.e., the fragments, are authentic; the others, i.e., the complete poems, are not.

poetry? Nobody will expect the seventh century B.C. to produce an historic poetry which merely describes the events of the time with realistic fidelity.[1] The poems of Tyrtaeus in language, meter, and mood are Homeric through and through, and especially so in their austere emphasis on the life of the spirit. They are generals' addresses from Homer, transposed into the present and freed from their nexus, but preserving the ideal code in form and content. This is how Callinus and Tyrtaeus created their elegiac poetry. Therefore once in a while, instead of the Homeric ὦ νέοι, the poem has "Ye descendants of Heracles," for the poet is speaking to actual Spartans; instead of "the enemy" he can occasionally name "the Messenians." That does not change the basic fact and we are not justified in demanding such changes as the rule. Callinus too, who belongs to the same early period, serves to refute any scholarship which takes as its criterion the presence of realistic historical description, whether or not we admit any relation between Tyrtaeus and the Ionian of Asia Minor. The authenticity of Callinus' poem, preserved in its entirety by Stobaeus, which summons his fellow citizens from slothful inactivity to arm for war, has never been questioned; there is no doubt that it is genuine. But the mood of this elegy is wholly devoid of specific concrete reference, which is exactly what is criticized in Tyrtaeus. Actually we know that in other poems the same Callinus now and then referred to that contemporary event which was the occasion of his poetry, i.e., the invasion of the Cimmerians. In his case also the ancient historians preserved these fragments for us. From this parallel we should learn our lesson for Tyrtaeus, or we should be consistent and reject Callinus' elegy also.[2]

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[1] As F. Jacoby saw correctly, *H* 53 (1918), 25 ff.

[2] Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*, seeks to exploit the division of the poems into the two groups, those with and those without historical allusions, for the question of authenticity, by reading into it a difference in style. But if Tyrtaeus cannot have written the exhortation, τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν, because he *did* write the "Eunomia," we may well ask: what next? Since Solon did write his great iambic poem with its wealth of factual historical references, he could never, according to this method of interpretation, have been the author of the "Elegy to the Muses" with its general reflections, much less of the poem on the

But enough of these preliminaries, intended only to voice some initial but fundamental doubts concerning the critical method generally in use against the authenticity of Tyrtaeus' poems. Before presenting my interpretation, I wish to point out, taking as my example the only complete poem accepted as genuine by Wilamowitz, that this criticism is not tenable even when it takes a positive approach to defend as genuine what is really genuine. The type of general address found in fragment 8, D, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικήτου γένος ἐστέ, does not differ in any way from that found in fragments 6, 7 and 9 which are said to be spurious. But the fact that the Spartans are addressed as descendants of Heracles created a presumption in favor of its authenticity, even though it implies no reference to any definite time or event. In seeking corroboration of this symptom, Wilamowitz believes to have found such confirmation in lines 21ff. The weapons which are there hinted at, he says, are of very ancient date, for the wide shield (ἀσπὶς εὐρείη) which covers

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Seven Ages. Mimnermus would have to sing always and only of love and weariness of life, but could not have written any warlike elegies like Frg. 12 and 13; Archilochus would have to be the same in the iambics as in the elegies. The other stylistic observations of Schachermeyr's, which he adduces for the separation of his two groups, are no more pertinent. He holds that the genuine "historical" group is partial to Homeric similes; the "abstract" and unauthentic on the contrary has a predilection for maxims (*loc. cit.* 137). Of course this arithmetic does not always work out, because the "Eunomia" has in fact a very concrete historical content but not one simile. Schachermeyr here remarks, quite rightly, that the poem furnishes no occasion for similes; yet he does not see that this is precisely true also of the paraenetic poems. His term 'maxims' (*Sentenzen*) is an awkward expression for the many normative propositions with which the exhortatory poet supports his advice and which form part of his style. Similes do not belong to it, although images such as κῦμα μάχης 9, 22, ἥβης ἄνθος 7, 28, are not completely absent. On the other hand, similes make their appearance as soon as it is a question of registering the impact of real events, such as the servitude of the enemy (5, 1) or the charge of a line of battle, as in 1, 7, 10 and 76, with its description — *horribile dictu* — of a future battle. Finally Schachermeyr proposes to classify the abstract type of exhortation, from which he wants to protect Tyrtaeus, as characteristic of Asia Minor and Ionia, his reasoning being that the only extant poem by Callinus contains exhortation but no historical references. But in this his memory has played him false, for there are two fine and rather important fragments, by the same Callinus, which refer to the Cimmerian invasions. Thus the Ionic-Asiatic type turns out to be an absurdity. There is not question here of two incompatible styles, but the situation is entirely natural.

the whole body is none other than the tower shield of Ajax which we know from the *Iliad*. In agreement with this, he says, at the end of the poem the light-armed soldiers are exhorted to hide behind the shields of the champions while slinging their stones, just as in Homer Teucer sought protection behind Ajax' shield. Poem 9, on the other hand, which Wilamowitz believes to be of later date, mentions a round, embossed shield (ἀσπὶς ὀμφαλόεσσα) and the breast plate. It knows the tactics of the phalanx, whose close formation was impossible as long as the shields were so large. In both poems Wilamowitz uses the method first tried by Wolfgang Reichel in his *Homerische Waffen* (Wien : 1901), who sought to distinguish early and late sections of Homer by the type of weapons used.[1] True, the surprising antiquity of Mycenean tower-shields appearing in the Peloponnesus around the middle of the seventh century is at odds both with the Dipylon vases of the eighth century and the results of the recent excavations in Sparta. What is more, it clashes with another passage of the same poem (8, 29-34) :

ἀλλά τις ἐγγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχει μακρῷ
ἢ ξίφει οὐτάζων δήϊον ἄνδρ' ἐλέτω,
καὶ πόδα παρ' ποδὶ θεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας,
ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ καὶ κυνέην κυνέῃ
καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω
ἢ ξίφεος κώπην ἢ δόρυ μακρὸν ἑλών.

Wilamowitz here sees a description of the close ranks of an attacking phalanx. However, Henri Weil had rejected these lines as a doublet of the preceding lines 21-26, since shield, helmet, crest and spear had already been listed there. Wilamowitz, agreeing with Weil, assumes that the poem was added to, and that thus the later weapons and later tactics found their way into it. This led him to believe that the collection of Tyrtaeus, which he dates roughly in the fifth century, contained not only spurious poems, works by imitators added to the original genuine stock, but that there

[1] Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, 114.

were in the authentic poems themselves cases of interpolation.[1] But Weil's hypothesis of a doublet is untenable. The relationship of the two passages to one another is very clear, and shows distinctly articulated development. Lines 21-26 describe the courageous march of the troops to battle, their stand against the approaching enemy, the fearful spectacle of the army ready for action :

ἀλλά τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισιν
στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς χεῖλος ὀδοῦσι δακών,
μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὤμους
ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος·
δεξιτέρῃ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
κινείτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς.

Only then the description proceeds to the actual battle,—first with the rather general challenge to mighty deeds :

ἔρδων δ' ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζειν
μηδ' ἐκτὸς βελέων ἑστάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων. (27-28)

To this are linked lines 29-34 quoted above, which show the warrior in the heart of the battle : how he charges with his sword against the enemy, opposing foot against foot, shield against shield, thrusting helmet against helmet, breast against breast. Nor is it possible to follow Wilamowitz in seeing a further discrepancy between lines 33-34 and 31-32. He regards the former as referring to the embattled opponents καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένος while the words καὶ πόδα παρ' ποδὶ θεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας κτλ. refer to contact within the marching phalanx with fellow soldiers. This would prove the rejected lines 29-34 to be internally

[1] F. Jacoby, *H* 53 (1918) 1-44, 262-307, is in basic agreement with Wilamowitz' idea of the tradition of Tyrtaeus. Occasionally, in his interpretation of the poems, he differs from Wilamowitz in details. He extends the latter's view by assuming a continual reworking of the poems, which makes it necessary to apply radical surgery to distinguish the old from the new. In his treatment of poem 8 he follows Wilamowitz more than once, as in rejecting lines 29-34, which Diehl, the editor of the anthology, had already suspected. Jacoby's article appeared before the discovery of the Tyrtaeus papyrus which, as will be shown in my article, has thrown a wholly new light on several questions.

inconsistent as well. It is true that the poet's model is the description in *Iliad* 16. 215 of the close-packed phalanx of the Myrmidons, but Tyrtaeus has adapted the model very effectively to describe hand-to-hand combat of man against man; the whole poem is an uninterrupted sequence of pushing and thrusting; to put a period after κυνέῃ, as Wilamowitz has to do in order to justify his interpretation, does not fit the style.[1] If the poem is a unified whole, then, to be sure, the great shield must be given up. Since Wilamowitz wrote his essay, the new Tyrtaeus papyrus has come to light; it contains in the great war poem which Wilamowitz himself accepted as genuine (1,17-19) a description similar to the lines here rejected as a doublet. The opponents fling themselves with deafening uproar against each other, man against man, shield against shield : ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους ἀσπίσι τυπτ[ομένων]. And now we find that the round shield, rejected by Wilamowitz as too late for Tyrtaeus, is mentioned and, what is more, in a poem which expressly refers to the three ancient Spartan phylae, the Pamphyli, Hylleis and Dymanes (1, 12). The explicit historical reference assures us that this type of armor was indeed used in seventh century Sparta. The variations in armor Sparta exhibited in Tyrtaeus are in fact to be found also on contemporary monuments. Hence this particular criterion has to be abandoned. But that is not to say that we ought to turn our backs on the 8th poem which Wilamowitz and others emphatically declared to be genuine. Rather let us temper our excessive confidence in the accuracy of our modern critical methods of analysis. Especially with regard to the 9th poem, which

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[1] The fact that line 31 : καὶ πόδα παρ' ποδὶ θεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας as well as 33 : καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένος can only apply to enemies fighting in hand-to-hand combat, not to contact in the rank and file, was realized by a later imitator of this passage, Marcus Argentarius. Apparently it has not yet been recognized that he transformed the whole into an erotic combat, and produced a passably good epigram (*Anthol. Gr.* ed. Jacobs, 1. 119) which does not seem to have been noticed previously :

Στέρνα περὶ στέρνοις, μαστῷ δ' ἐπὶ μαστὸν ἐρείσας
χείλεά τε γλυκεροῖς χείλεσι συμπιέσας
Ἀντιγόνης καὶ χρῶτα λαβὼν πρὸς χρῶτα τὰ λοιπὰ
σιγῶ, μάρτυς ἐφ' οἷς λύχνος ἐπεγράφετο.

we shall now discuss in detail, and which has been unanimously rejected by all the leading German scholars, we can say without further ado that the rejection is unjust in as much as it is based on the criterion of armor and tactics. For the martial elegy of the new papyrus shows that these are not post-Tyrtaean, as has been assumed.

II

The Elegy (9D) Οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείην, although it has been rejected as inauthentic, is nevertheless acknowledged by the majority of critics as a magnificent masterpiece. But they do not believe that Tyrtaeus or any archaic poet was capable of writing poetry like this. It is considered too polished and its train of thought too lucid, — and thus one would prefer to grant it an honorable place on the ground level of the sophistic enlightenment. Its form supposedly belongs to that period; its thought-content, it is suggested, expresses, somewhat abstractly and without the concreteness of topical allusions, the pan-Hellenic ideal of courage as it was current in the fifth century.[1] I shall first discuss the form, in the most obvious sense of that word. The poem resembles the other extant Tyrtaean passages in its wealth of Homeric words and usages so crucial for the first impression of the works upon us. It is equally striking that it shares with those other poems a great number of typical parts of lines and combinations of words. I cite the most obvious examples :

v. 12 ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενος	⌣1, 17 ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενοι
	8, 38 πλησίον ἱστάμενοι
	8, 29 ἐγγὺς ἰών
v. 14 γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ	⌣8, 16 γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά
(cf. 9, 10. 20 γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ)	
v. 16 ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένῃ	⌣8, 21 ἀλλά τις εὖ διαβᾶς μενέτω (= 7, 31)

[1] Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 111; Jacoby, *op. cit.* 31.

v. 17 νωλεμέως αἰσχρῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθηται	⌙4, 5 νωλεμέως αἰεί ⌙7, 16 μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχρῆς ἄρχετε
v. 18 θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος	⌙7, 17 μέγαν ποιεῖσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν 4, 5 ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
v. 23 ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών	⌙7, 30 ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών 6, 1 ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα 7, 21 μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
v. 26 πρόσθεν ἐληλαμένος	⌙8, 20 ὄπισθ' αἰχμῇ δουρὸς ἐλη- λαμένος
v. 27 ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες (cf. 37 ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί, 41 ὁμῶς νέοι οἵ τε κατ' αὐτόν... οἵ τε παλαιότεροι)	⌙ Callinus 1, 17 ὀλίγος... καὶ μέγας
v. 33 μαρνάμενόν τε... γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων	⌙6, 13 γῆς πέρι τῆσδε μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων (cf. 6, 2 περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμε- νον)
v. 43 ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι	⌙11 ἀρετῆς πελάσαι τέρμασιν

Beside this common store there is an abundance of special terms and phrases which derive from the particular line of thought in the poem, as is true also of the other elegiac poems. However we must begin by studying what is most characteristic of Tyrtaeus.

From the smallest parts we now proceed to the structure of the poem. The *parainesis*, as we know from the other poems, is divided grammatically into an imperative and an indicative component. The first is to be found in all the poems, though in greatly varying forms, as in 8, 1-6 : ἀλλὰ... θαρσεῖτε... μηδὲ... δειμαίνετε μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε, ἰθὺς δ'...ἐχέτω, and mirroring the beginning, at the end (8, 21-38) : ἀλλά τις... μενέτω... δεξιτέρῃ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω... διδασκέσθω... μηδ'... ἑστάτω... ἀλλά τις... ἑλέτω... καὶ... μαχέσθω... ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ γυμνῆτες... βάλλετε.

In 6, 13-14, the imperative section comes at the end; in 7, if this is a separate poem and not the continuation of 6, as it has been handed down, the imperative is operative throughout the initial three couplets and again, as in 8, at the end, though now, for the sake of emphasis, only in the last couplet. At the end of 6 we have the first person plural : μαχώμεθα, θνήσκωμεν; at the beginning of 7 and 8, the second person

plural: μάχεσθε, θαρσεῖτε; elsewhere the forms in -έτω with its correlative τις. Between the imperative sections or before them comes the indicative element, as for example after the introductory imperative in 8, 7-10: ἴστε γὰρ... εὖ δ' ἐδάητε... καὶ μετὰ φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε, ὦ νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἐς κόρον ἠλάσατε.

The verbs themselves, εἰδέναι, δαῆναι, demonstrate the function of the indicative within the whole, and the words, "You were, after all, present, both at the flight and at the pursuit," affirm it: the poet appeals for the preceding imperatives to the warrior's own experience; lines 11-13 explain this further: "he who bravely endures and leads the way, runs less risk and saves the host behind him." But in what follows the indicative comes to be used for another kind of argument: the wisdom of experience gives way to the demands of the norm, especially to the warning example of αἰσχρόν, 6 and 7 apply this norm alone; there is no appeal to the actual experience of a soldier. In 7 the introductory imperatives (15-20) are followed by a central section whose argumentation is based solely on the norm of αἰσχρόν (21-27). It should be noted in this connection, that in the exhortations of early Greek ethics, understandably enough, the αἰσχρόν motive plays a dominant part, and the καλόν takes second place. However in our passage the description of καλόν is used to complement the picturesquely frightening vision of the αἰσχρόν (27-30), after which the speaker in the last distich finally returns once more to the commanding tone of the beginning with its imperatives. Poem 6 does not begin with imperatives but the poet immediately sets up the norms of καλόν and αἰσχρόν (1-10) as grounds (εἰ δ' οὕτως κτλ.) for the massive challenges μαχώμεθα, θνήσκωμεν (13-14) with which the poem reaches a climax. The relation of the imperative to the indicative element in this simple and magnificent call to action is thus quite clear. The imperative (a) furnishes the thought sequence with its frame, the indicative (b) with its contents. In 7 and 8 the pattern of composition is a-b-a; in 6 the sequence is b-a. It is evident that this represents a characteristic pattern. However the papyrus has suddenly made clear how hasty it would be to

draw from this evidence any precise conclusion about Tyrtaeus' style; it has given us a poem which, though very long and palpably genuine, contains not a single imperative. Instead we find many uses of the future : 15 πεισόμεθα, 16 ἀλοιησεῦμεν, 18 ἔσται κτύπος, 20 ..]ήσουσιν, 22 ἐρωήσουσιν, 24 καναχὴν ἕξουσι, 27 ...]σει, 40 συνοίσομεν, 42 λογήσει, 73 λείψουσι. Other tenses do not appear at all, for the ending of 64 ἐμπαλλομε[ν is conjectural and not at all certain. Thus the poem presented a vision, almost prophetic in character and greatly affecting the imagination of the fighters, of an imminent battle including, among other special features, an assault on a city wall. The whole is cast in the mold of the first person plural, like 6, while 7 and 8 feature the second person plural exclusively. To say so much about what the enemy would do is an innovation that requires many verb forms in the third person plural. We must admit that the few examples of this type of poetry that have survived simply do not permit us to set any limit to the possibilities of stylistic variation within it. The "Eunomia" indeed is striking proof that the warlike elegy is only one particular form of Tyrtaeus' political poetry, although probably the most powerful. It is the account of a solemn act of the past on which the constitution of their forefathers was based; its climax is a poetic transformation of the great *Rhetra*, in the form of successive infinitives, a favorite pattern in the language of laws.

As against the form of this poem (Eunomia) and that of the new poem from the papyrus, poem 9, being an unspecified *parainesis* to courage, is closer to the group of poems 6, 7, 8. At first glance it seems more purely reflective, which was one reason for attributing it to a more reflective age. However this impression is an illusion. For the tremendous force with which these thoughts begin and rise in a sustained crescendo at the middle and end of the poem makes it impossible to imagine the author peacefully pondering over his work. It is the same powerful and impassioned voice calling for action that we know from his poems of war. With them this elegy also shares its combination of the two structural components of imperative and indicative, for let us not

overlook the fact that the climax of the whole poem is reached only at the end (43):

ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι
πειράσθω θυμῷ μὴ μεθιεὶς πολέμου.

All that precedes only prepares for and builds up to this final dramatic command whose form (πειράσθω τις) is already familiar to us (cf. the end of poem 7, but also 8, 21 ff. and passim). This is the most comprehensive form of address. It proves that the poem really was an address — as Solon says in the Salamis Elegy: κόσμον ἐπέων ᾠδὴν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος — at a time which evidently stood in need of being reminded of "this" arete. Fragment 11 also speaks of the ἀρετῆς τέρματα where the choice lies only between the final goal of arete or death. In that poem too, therefore, the phrase, ἀρετῆς τέρματα, refers to the arete exhibited in war. In the listeners' minds a picture emerges of a race-track as in Olympia, but the goal of this track is reached not in a race but only in battle. That holds also for poem 9 where this thought is developed in more detail. It seems that in all the war elegies of Tyrtaeus, arete is the chief concern, but the word itself occurs only in these two passages and in 8, 14:

τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.

The one who flees in battle ruins by this his whole arete. What then is this "whole" arete, and how is it related to what the fragment calls "the final goal of arete"?

The answer is found in poem 9 which is wholly devoted to this question. First of all, it is significant that it *is* a question, or more correctly *the* question on which right now (νῦν, 43), at the very moment when the speaker has the floor, all depends. It is something quite different from the platonic question: τί ποτέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετή; Here there is at stake an urgent practical decision in an hour of need and danger, the decision of a whole citizenry, of whom the speaker is a member.[1] At the beginning we come face to face with

[1] Strabo (VIII 362) says that Tyrtaeus puts the first Messenian war three generations before his own time; then Strabo speaks of the second war, ἡνίκα φησὶν αὐτὸς (Τυρταῖος) στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλθὼν ἐξ

the whole citizen body and its classes, unquestioning in their reliance on the ancient and hallowed standards of value (ἀγαθά, ἀρεταί). There are the illustrious gentlemen, the Olympian victors, the city's pride. There are the beautiful, the rich, the bearers of royal dignity, together with the eloquent city senators, the *gerontes*; yet the speaker of our poem with his first line οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ... τιθείην hurls his challenge into the very face of this elite, embodying all the supreme ἀρεταί of the ancient Greek aristocrat, the virtues which much later Pindar still continues to praise. He declares all their glory null and void if they lack the simple manly courage which is tested in war. It does not matter that each may possess his own particular arete in the highest degree possible; the poet proceeds, in the Homeric manner, to point to a mythical example to illustrate the highest, the paradigmatic degree of each of the aretai. The examples themselves have been the subject of many discussions. There is nothing about them that is not quite appropriate in archaic poetry; since Homer, as Weil and other scholars have shown, such examples are not uncommon. It was, of course, denied that Tyrtaeus would use mythical names; but then, suddenly, there was the papyrus which

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'Ερινέου· καὶ εἶναί φησιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν (he quotes). ὥστ' ἢ ταῦτα ἠκύρωται τὰ ἐλεγεῖα ἢ Φιλοχόρῳ ἀπιστητέον τῷ φήσαντι 'Αθηναῖόν τε καὶ 'Αφιδναῖον καὶ Καλλισθένει καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς εἰποῦσιν ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν ἀφικέσθαι δεηθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ χρησμόν, ὃς ἐπέταττε παρ' 'Αθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. Here it is clear that in the story told by Philochorus, among others, Tyrtaeus is the ἡγεμών of the Spartans whom they summoned from Athens. Strabo rightly proves that he did not come from there, for in the "Eunomia" Tyrtaeus says of the return of the Heraclidae: "we came here from Erineus; Zeus has given us this city." He thus shows that he himself is a Dorian. Strabo however misunderstands it to mean that Tyrtaeus himself had come from Erineus and that this event was still recent. There is no evidence in the "Eunomia" that Tyrtaeus was a military leader as Strabo held; that is simply carelessly borrowed from the legend of the Athenian Tyrtaeus. The poems have in part the form of a general's speech before battle, following Homeric models as Jacoby especially has correctly pointed out. From this it was thought the same conclusion should be drawn for his own status, but of course this cannot be done. It is strange that Wilamowitz and others should have chosen to accept this particular item as genuine. The papyrus (fr. 1. 15) has settled the question once and for all; in it the poet employs the first person plural in calling for obedience to the leaders.

listed, in one new poem, both Semele and Dionysus and the Tyndarids. We may add the "Eunomia," with its mention of Pelops and the Heraclids. The Cyclopes as representatives of strength, Boreas of swiftness, Midas and Cinyras as owners of fabulous wealth, are epic examples. Adrastus and Pelops are especially suitable in a Peloponnesian poem. What meaning could the mention of royal arete have had to this or that Ionian city with a democratic constitution, or to fifth-century Athens, seeing that all the virtues the poet lists are intended to be significant rivals of courage? Would a sophist have enumerated the aretai of the ancient scholia and of the heroic age, instead of the modern virtues of σωφροσύνη, εὐγλωσσία, δικαιοσύνη? We will show later just what the sixth and fifth centuries did to this poem when they proceeded to imitate and transform it. The contents of lines 1-11 have not been accurately reproduced by Wilamowitz and others. He took it to mean: "valor is the only indispensable quality for the ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός." The argument οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ δηλονότι χωρὶς ἀνδρείας shows that the poet does not, like Xenophanes, disavow or repudiate the aretai previously enumerated. They are merely not enough to make the man who possesses them an ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός in war also. For this ἀλκή is needed which Frg. 11 calls ἀρετῆς τέρμα or (13) simply ἀρετή. He who does not prove himself in war, thereby loses πᾶσαν ἀρετήν (8, 14). δόξα belongs to ἀρετή as the objective expression of its recognition in the society of the polis; one may refer, for this, to the ἀρετή δόξα concept of the Anonymous Iamblichus, ch. 2 (Diehls[7] vol. 2 pp. 400 ff.), which shows the traditional interrelation of the concepts; or to Solon frg. 1, 4. For the glory of οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν δόξαν ἔχοι πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς we may substitute πᾶσαν ἀρετήν without any basic change in meaning. But it is just the slight "logical error" in Tyrtaeus which has the archaic ring.

However has not the dramatic beginning of the poem been held to be a form of rhetoric found only in the fifth century? The four-time repeated "and even if" creates a tremendous effect; after the double οὔτε — οὔτε of the first two lines, it opens the first line of each couplet as with violent

hammer blows. Yet this series of anaphoras whose irresistible crescendo does not come to a halt until line 10, οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ, are no mere rhetoric, no handbook exercises. They spring from the passion of a profound and revolutionary vision, negating one by one whatever fails to satisfy its ideals. Once we grasp the strength and originality of this thought there is no sense in asking whether such series of rhetorical anaphoras or mythological examples occur in the other poems of Tyrtaeus. It is time we gave up so superficial a concept of style, when it is a question of understanding an original thinker who creates his own forms out of the inherited treasure of epic expression. Was not the Proemium of Hesiod's *Works and Days* once held to be post-Gorgian rhetoric? The fact is that from these great achievements of archaic poetry, we must first learn what were the roots from which the rhetoric of later times developed. This does not discredit the comparison of our poem with other works of Tyrtaeus as a method of philological interpretation. However any over-hasty discussion of form apart from intellectual content must be avoided and so too any purely mechanical comparison. I shall therefore now lay aside the problem of form and start anew with the line of thought.

The "I" which announces itself in the first line does not suggest the self-assured skeptical individualism of a Xenophanes or a Hecateus, so often met with in the fifth century. καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι rather speaks in the name of all; it is entirely impersonal, a collective "I", so to speak; in its place the poet might well have used "we" or "one". The "I" does not defy the values of the group, but serves to voice a higher norm which everyone whose attention is drawn to it must recognize at once, since the dreadful situation of the city forcibly suggests it. War wipes away all privileges whenever the whole commonwealth is at stake, as in the revolt of the Messenians. The country's desperate need is a greater equalizer than any democracy; in place of the old hereditary nobility it calls into being a new kind of nobility for all citizens that is only bestowed by heroic courage in battle against the enemy. On it everything depends in this

hour. Nobody in later ages, when ethical and intellectual arete grew more and more to have independent value, made the whole value of man depend so abruptly and one-sidedly on ability in war. Plato and all antiquity regarded this as a specifically Spartan ideal, forged by Tyrtaeus during the war, and subsequently dominating Spartan politics and Spartan education, while the rest of Greece advanced and developed.[1] The 9th poem brings us back to the moment of transition when the aristocratic Sparta of the archaic age turned into the classical Sparta of the sixth century, with its ethic of the warrior state.

ἥδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.

That too is "Rhetoric," such as the Athenian Solon would use a few decades later. He too struggled against the views of the old land-owning nobility; protesting against their privilege of wealth, he emphasized the natural riches and pleasures which come to every man in his ripe old age: ταῦτ' ἄφενος θνητοῖσι (Frg. 14, 7 D). Solon does not mean to say that money is not wealth; similarly Tyrtaeus does not deny that the ancient ideals of strength and agility, of beauty, rank and possessions are aretai in the traditional sense. However, when he cries out ἥδ' ἀρετή, he is transforming this value, just as Solon, beside and above the old one, creates a new concept of wealth. The source of the transvaluation is given in the following couplet (15-16):

ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόληί τε παντί τε δήμῳ
ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένῃ.

ξυνὸν ἐσθλόν is the Homeric expression for κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. It is the first time in Greek history that this thought appears. We must try to understand it, before we can hope to understand the rest of the poem. Here the criterion which is the test of any true arete is announced: the value it has for the common welfare of the polis. This thought, also, by being associated with the climate of the fifth century, would lose

[1] Plat. *Leg.* 1 629 A ff.

its special character. Any Athenian of the age of Pericles could have spoken thus. However, he could not have limited himself to ἀνδρεία alone, for beside it he recognized other and more significant foundations for the welfare of the whole, above all, the δικαιοσύνη of the democratic constitutional state. Sparta was never to achieve this, yet its aristocratic character had a strongly "democratic" admixture, in the concept of the absolute state with its ideal of the soldier citizen. In the face of the arete of the squires, the poet sets up another arete, that of a collective citizenry, like a *Rocher de bronze*. It is strange to see the new concept of political solidarity grafted upon the ancient Homeric ideal of heroism; the notion of a whole citizenry of heroes is hard to harmonize with Achilles, Diomedes and Ajax, the glorious archetypes of the knightly age. Yet the magnificence of this fusion of old and new cannot be denied. The first signs of this political interpretation of the hero-concept can be traced back as far as the *Iliad* itself. For Hector, the "saviour of his country," is radically different from those truly aristocratic Greek heroes who fought not for their native land but only for their own personal glory. His personality is already an example of the infiltration of the new ethics of the polis, though on the whole the world of the epos is that of the nobles. Tyrtaeus forms his line 15 from Hector's address to Paris (*Iliad* 3. 50) in which the latter's deed is termed a misfortune πόληί τε παντί τε δήμῳ. The immense power of the polis is voiced also elsewhere (6, 3): "It is a noble thing for a man to fall in battle for his native land, but to be driven from his city and his fields and wander as a beggar with parents, wife and children, despised and dishonored by all the world, that is most dreadful." Such is the bitter fate of the man who fails in his duty in war and therefore must abandon his home.[1]

However, a far more magnificent and all-embracing description of the power of the polis is presented in the further

[1] I am assuming that the elegy τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν (Frg. 6) is genuine. I cannot cite any proof for this at this point: actually no such proof can be furnished for an isolated piece; only an overall treatment of the problem can be expected to provide it. Fr. 7, too, I consider genuine; cf. also Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 19 ff.

course of poem 9. The first section (1-22) had set the new idea of true arete against all previous concepts and proclaimed the welfare of the polis as its only criterion. The second half, of exactly the same length (23-44), promises the rewards of the new arete. It is at this point that we begin to see particularly clearly how completely the old concept of arete and the whole world of thought bound up in it have been transformed. The polis, while incorporating into itself and utilizing the heroic virtues of the epic world, turns thereby into a guarantee of glory, which used to come to the epic hero without the agency of a supervising or judging power. The φήμη, the λόγος of men which the bard would receive from the past and hand on were formerly the anonymous carriers of fame. But now the polis takes their place. The moral and spiritual power which thus came to it justifies the forbidding force with which the polis presents itself to us in poem 6; by assuming that power the polis gained the aspect of divinity and sublimity which the Greeks saw in it, and which it has carried ever since for all men. The second part of the 9th poem falls into two further sections which depict the reward of arete : first the glory of the fallen champion (23-34), second, by way of natural climax, the honored life of the victor who has returned home (35-42). "Around the fallen hero who has given glory to his family, his fellow-citizens and his country, old and young raise a lament, and the whole city mourns for him with bitter longing, and his tomb and his children and his children's children are famous among men, and never shall his glory and his name perish but, although he be under the earth, he will be ever immortal." Unlike what happens in the epic, the keeping alive of his memory is now made to depend on the continuity of life in a polis. The political reinterpretation of the heroic ideal is closely followed by a similar re-analysis of fame. With this the polis reaches the highest peak of spiritual authority. For by venerating him as a hero, it bestows immortality, in the true sense of the word, on the fallen man. The platonic concept of an after-life of the soul inclines us to regard this specialized use of ἀθάνατος as nothing but a rhetorical metaphor, the more so because it is found in

the fifth century sophists and rhetoricians. But they, in fact, as I hope to show later, took the notion from the ancient poets. What is more, this concept of immortality, that is, the survival of one's name through fame, happens to be authentic Greek belief. Throughout antiquity, as long as the polis survived, fame ruled supreme. Only with the death of the polis did the citizen, now turned cosmopolitan, first begin to reflect *de contemnenda gloria*. The second section of the second part (35-42), the finale of the poem, describing the honor which awaits the homecoming victor, shows even more clearly the total dependence of all civic honor and dishonor on the society of the polis. Young and old honor the hero, and life brings him many amenities. In his old age he is highly esteemed; everyone fears to harm him in any way. In public all show him respect and yield before him wherever he appears.

In going back once more to the poem's form, we find that as a whole, in spite of its unusual point of departure, it is very typical of Tyrtaeus. Whereas in poems 6, 7 and 8 the poet calls upon the men to stay their ground, now their military ἀρετή is made part of a larger circle of acknowledged ἀρεταί, among which he assigns it the highest rank. The moment Tyrtaeus begins to explain why courage is the supreme ἀρετή which alone saves the city (10), he can do it in no other way than by describing the brave warrior's bearing in battle. Here we find thoughts, words and lines familiar from Tyrtaeus, as is evident in the passages correlated above. This applies first of all to the second section of the first part. Typical of Tyrtaeus is the enumeration of realistic details of the true warrior's behaviour : "He standeth firm in the forefront without ceasing and making heart and soul to abide forgetteth foul flight altogether and hearteneth by his words him that standeth by." [1] The thought pattern of the whole poem exhibits the same archaic parataxis. With this compare the structure of, say, Solon's Elegy to the Muses, from the first half of the sixth century B.C. In itself it is

[1] All translations of the Greek text, here and below, are from J. M. Edmonds' edition, *Elegy and Iambus* (London : 1931) vol. I.

old-fashioned enough, but by comparison with Tyrtaeus its rigorously antithetical style sounds positively modern. Here is a sample from the first part.

ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν·
εἶναι δὲ γλυκὺν ὧδε φίλοισ', ἐχθροῖσι δὲ πικρόν,
τοῖσι μὲν αἰδοῖον, τοῖσι δὲ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν.
χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.
πλοῦτον δ' ὃν μὲν δῶσι θεοί, παραγίγνεται ἀνδρί
ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος ἐς κορυφήν·
ὃν δ' ἄνδρες μετίωσιν ὑφ' ὕβριος, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον
ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι πειθόμενος
οὐκ ἐθέλων ἕπεται.

We find the same use of parataxis in Tyrtaeus 8, 1-6 or 8, 21-34, to choose a poem whose authenticity is unquestioned. The call for battle consists of a number of units linked together by the particle δέ; the accumulation of such units, answering to the feelings of the speaker, is a characteristic tendency. From this point of view the piling up of paratactic phrases introduced by οὐδ' εἰ in poem 9, 1-10, no longer seems at all surprising. We should also compare the description of the κακία of the coward,[1] condemned to live in misery (6, 3-10): "to leave his city and his rich lands and go a-begging is of all things the most miserable, wandering with mother dear and aged father, with little children and wedded wife. For baleful shall such an one be among all those to whom he shall come in bondage to Want and Loathsome Penury, and doth shame his lineage and belie his noble beauty, followed by all evil and dishonor." Here too is the same parataxis with phrases linked simply by τε or δέ.

Tyrtaeus likes to base his imperatives on such long enumerations of the ἀγαθά and the κακά which will come to

[1] The formal agreements between this poem and the others are, to my mind, infallible proof of its authenticity. What is more, the description of the exiled coward reduced to beggary has unique features. Its agrarian conception of the life of the citizen in his country cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be fitted into the urban conditions of the fifth century.

those obeying or, again, neglecting his advice. The κατάλογος κακῶν is balanced by two similar κατάλογοι ἀγαθῶν in poem 9 : first (23-34) the ἀγαθά promised to the fallen warrior and then (35-42) the ἀγαθά which the victor can expect if he returns home alive. The two-fold division is very simple; it is briefly indicated also at the end of Callinus' elegy. In Tyrtaeus it is expanded by the double list of glories for the dead warrior and the living victor.[1] There is nothing in this of sophistic polish and worship of form for its own sake; it is instead a very primitive enumeration : "Around the fallen hero who has gloriously protected his family, his fellow-citizens and his country, old and young raise a lament, and the whole city mourns for him with bitter longing, and his tomb and his children and his children's children are famous among men, and never shall his glory and his name perish but although he be under the earth, he will be immortal." The lines about the victor are of the same kind. Such lists of κακά and ἀγαθά are so native to Tyrtaeus that in poem 8, concerning the τρέσσας who loses all his arete, he dispenses with an explicit listing of the various κακά in store for him and simply says :

οὐδεὶς ἄν ποτε ταῦτα λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα,
ὅσσ', ἢν αἰσχρὰ πάθῃ, γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά.

This stylistic device has not been recognized, and consequently the lines have been misinterpreted. The allusion to the vast number of κακά is also quite important for an understanding of the function of the long lists in 6 and 9. It is precisely the size of the number which serves, in one place as a warning, in the other as an encouragement. A beautiful

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[1] There are many examples of such antinomies in archaic poetry : the city in peace and the city at war in the Homeric description of the shield; the righteous and the unrighteous cities in Hesiod's *Works and Days*; its imitation in Solon's poem, Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις, with its confrontation of justice and Eunomia. There are cases also of division into more than two parts, the effect being that of hieratic symmetry, all the way from the dirge for Hector (*Iliad* 24, 723-76) with its tripartite lament of Andromache, Hecuba and Helen, to the seven pairs of speeches of the central section of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*.

archaic feature is the repetition of word for word as emphasis. The line (9, 10):

οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ

is echoed at the end of the enumeration (9, 20):

οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ.

This too has been called a special refinement of later rhetoric. In reality the echo is a function of ring composition, the characteristic archaic return from end to beginning, as for example, 7, 21, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα (κτλ.) repeated once more by way of confirmation at the end of the argument in line 26: αἰσχρὰ τά γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν. A beautiful example is found in the "Eunomia" (1-2):

<ὧδε> γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου

and after the communication of the oracle (10):

Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὧδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει.

Another instance is a passage which has been badly mauled by the textual critics, but which is simply a case of intentional repetition, typical of the archaic style (9, 27): τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες paralleled in the passage on the warrior (37): πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί and again echoed at the end of the passage (41):

πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἵ τε κατ' αὐτόν
εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἵ τε παλαιότεροι.

One is reminded of scenes like the lament for Hector with their repeated formulas (*Iliad* 24, 722, 746): ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες; again in 776: ἐπὶ δ' ἔστενε δῆμος ἀπείρων. As in Homer, whom Tyrtaeus follows, the individual hero, whether dead or victorious, stands out against the background of a whole chorus of citizens.[1]

[1] In Tyrtaeus 9. 27 and 9. 37 the second half of the verse allows a slight variation to blunt the edge of the rigid symmetry; this is further varied in 9.

III

We have tried to relate a poem, which others have considered exceptionally abstract and timeless, to a particular phase in the history of thought. But its position in history can be finally determined only when we have seen how it detached itself from its native Spartan soil and passed over into the possession of the other Greek tribes and won a secure place in the culture of its nation. A study of its continuing influence will also enable us to establish our interpretation firmly in its chronology and to define its limits more exactly. By continuing influence I mean not only the gathering of quotations in the later authors, but above all the tracing of the problem upon which the poem is premised, the issue of true ἀρετή in the spiritual history of the Greek polis. Here we shall however consider it only insofar as evidence can be found for its being influenced by Tyrtaeus' poem. The dominant law governing the development of Greek thought as well as of Greek art is this : a form, once coined, becomes a permanent source of authority. Each new form grows out of new understanding that unfolds with and within the older form; this inner transformation parallels the law of organic growth.[1] At the critical points of transformation, stand creative individuals in and by whom this form-process is accomplished. To recognize that their creation of forms grows out of the older forms in the first and essential step toward understanding them.

The question of what is the true or highest arete of man still troubles the century following Tyrtaeus. His answer did

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41-2 : ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες ~ ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί ~ ὁμῶς νέοι οἵ τε κατ' αὐτὸν... οἵ τε παλαιότεροι. The same effect is found in the dirge for Hector; after twice using the formula ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες (24. 722 and 746) the poet changes it somewhat in line 760 γόον ἀλίαστον ὄρινεν and in line 766 ἐπὶ δ' ἔστενε δῆμος ἀπείρων. In the latter case the first half of the verse is identical with that of 746, while lines 722 and 746, which share the same second half of the verse, show variations in the first half.

[1] Cf. "Solon's Eunomia" *Scripta Minora*, vol. I, p. 336 ; above, p. 98.

not remain unmodified. It may have had some permanent significance for Sparta, but what was its meaning for the more modern polis, which owed its existence to the struggle for law? In the *Laws* where Plato quotes Tyrtaeus' view and rejects it as a narrow Doric notion of the state, he mentions Theognis. The surviving collection of Theognis' poems contains the statement (147):

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς' ἀρετή ἐστι
πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών.

That sounds like an outdoing and refutation of Tyrtaeus. The *corpus* of Theognis contains two quotations from the poem of Tyrtaeus.[1] This proves that in the fifth century, when this anthology of various poets was compiled, he was well known. However, it would be hard to say whether the passage quoted above was intended to answer Tyrtaeus' thesis, that without courage in battle all ἀρετή is worthless. All the more confidently can we make the same claim for another poetic testimony to true ἀρετή, the famous Elegy of Xenophanes (Frg. 2 Diehl) Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν. This poem in which the sophist-poet preaches the primacy of ἀρετή above all other aretai, is not only closely related spiritually to the poem of Tyrtaeus; more than that, it is obviously inspired by it. The first lines of Xenophanes' elegy are strikingly similar to those of Tyrtaeus: "But if a man should win by swiftness of foot or in the five-events at the holy precinct of Zeus by the stream of Pisa in Olympia, or in wrestling, or if he should hold his own in the painful boxing-bout, or the dread contest that they call the Pancratium — whatever it were, he would be more honoured in the eyes of his fellow-townsmen; he would win the prominent right of sitting at the front in the games and contests, there would be food for him from the city's store and a gift to make him an heirloom. Or if again his victory were with horses, then too all this would fall to him — yet it would

[1] Tyrt. 9, 13-16 = Theogn. 1003-1006; Tyrt. 9, 37-40 = Theogn. 935. The variant readings in the Theognis text are worthless. The lines had been corrupted in their transmission from singer to singer.

not be deserved as 'twould be were it mine, for the poet's σοφίη is better than the strength of men and horses. The custom of man in this matter is questionable; it is not right that strength should be judged worthier than ἀγαθὴ σοφίη." [1] Xenophanes also sets forth his new concept of arete as the true arete in contrast to all those held previously. Here we see the Ionian whose wandering life early brought him to the western colonial world of Magna Graecia and Sicily where the ancient ideal, preponderantly conservative and Doric, was still alive. There he ate his daily bread at the tables of the nobility and men of wealth; it could not have been easy to maintain his lofty independence of mind against the standards of human values accepted there. The Olympic victor was still the sum total of highest perfection and, as in Pindar, given divine honor. The poem springs from a profound feeling of rebellion; it is a product of the emancipation of Ionian individualism. But, remote as it is from the mentality of Tyrtaeus, it is the same world of traditional agonal patterns and its concept of arete against which he turns. For obviously, when Tyrtaeus speaks of the swiftness which runs faster than Boreas, or of παλαιμοσύνη — Xenophanes uses the same term and forms the word πυκτοσύνη from it — or of the size and strength of the Cyclopes, he is referring to the well-known types of contest in Olympia. This is obvious even without Xenophanes' interpretation if one considers the importance Olympia had for seventh century Peloponnesus.[2] But the crucial element in the influence

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[1] H. Fränkel, *H* 60 (1918), 177, corrected Diehls' error in the interpretation of the words εἴτε καὶ ἵπποισιν (10). Victory with a team of horses is for Xenophanes even less worthy of honor than those mentioned before.

[2] H. Fränkel, *op. cit.* 178, was the first to show the importance of Xenophanes' lines for the history of the Olympic games in the sixth century. He calls the lines our oldest witness, but that is no longer true if Tyrtaeus' 9th poem is authentic. Tyrtaeus, too, assigns first place to the victory in the stadium, which confirms the statement of Xenophanes (17) who calls it the most honored type of contest. A. Körte, *H* 39 (1904) 32, was therefore wrong to dispute this. I am not so sure, however, that we can follow Fränkel in exploiting the agreements between the order in which Xenophanes lists the contests and the evolution of the Olympic games as reported in the testimonies of later antiquity (cf. Theophil Klee *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen* [Leipzig: 1918], p. 21), and in drawing far-reaching

of Tyrtaeus on Xenophanes is the reason given for the preeminence of σοφίη over athletic (*agonalen*) ἀρεταί. "For not though a city had a good boxer, nor a five-event man, nor a good (ἀρετή) wrestler, nor yet a good runner...never for that would she be the better ordered (εὐνομίη); and but little is the joy a town would get in a man's victory beside the banks of Pisa, for a city's treasure houses are not fattened so." (12-22) Here too the welfare of the polis is the standard measure for the value of ἀρετή. Euripides, who in his "Autolykos," based the famous invective against athletics on this elegy, developed this motif of the city and her gain in broad outline.[1] The intellectual education also, newly developed in Ionia, which Xenophanes proclaims, can justify its value only by the part it plays in the polis, and by presenting itself as πολιτικὴ ἀρετή. We are somewhat disturbed at the materialism of Xenophanes' concept of the common welfare; of the aristocratic arete which Pindar celebrated, he says mockingly that it does not fatten (πιαίνει) the city's treasury or storerooms. True, the σοφίη which he teaches cannot by itself create wealth and prosperity; but it leads to εὐνομίη which makes the city flourish. Hesiod, it is true, had already spoken in like manner of the effects of justice, Δίκη, and it does not fit badly with the materialistic mentality of the Greeks in Sicily and Magna Graecia whom Xenophanes addresses. Yet in his first *Isthmian*, Pindar had interpreted the poet's arete, σοφίη, in quite another manner. He had succeeded in combining the ancient aristocratic ideal with the concept of the common welfare to which he did not turn a deaf ear. The poet is expected to lavish praise with unenvying hand on the ἀρετή of the winner in the contest:[2] "for it is an easy gift for the σοφὸς ἀνήρ to say an excellent

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conclusions from these agreements concerning the authenticity of the tradition relative to the gradual expansion of the program at the Olympic festivals. It would of course be wrong to assume from Tyrtaeus 9, 1-4 that in the seventh century Olympia knew only those contests mentioned by him. What he did was to select only the most famous. Xenophanes completed the list, since he was comparing σοφίη only with the arete of the Olympic victors, and not with all the aristocratic aretai mentioned by Tyrtaeus.

[1] Eurip. Frg. 282 Nauck.

[2] Pindar *Isthmian* I 45.

word for their manifold pains and thus to establish a ξυνὸν καλόν." This is clearly modelled on Tyrtaeus' ξυνὸν ἐσθλόν (9, 15). There are many other traces of the Spartan poet to be found elsewhere in Pindar, who cherishes the Dorian tradition. In his eyes, as we see, even the arete of the agon and the songs in its praise are a service to the polis. In this he is more archaic than Xenophanes and even than Tyrtaeus himself.

Once we have proved that Tyrtaeus' poem was well-known as early as the sixth century, we will become more sensitive to various formal echoes found in earlier poets. In his Elegy to the Muses (31-32) Solon described how the punishment for the father's guilt falls on his children and children's children : ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν / ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω. He obviously was thinking here of Tyrtaeus (9, 29-30) :

καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποισ' ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω.

There is no question here as to which of the two is the source for the other. The continuous build-up in Tyrtaeus' lines : τύμβος — παῖδες — παίδων — παῖδες — γένος ἐξοπίσω is unmistakably original. Apparently Solon also modelled his words ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν on Tyrtaeus' 9, 38 πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθών and we could certainly find more such echoes in him if we possessed more of his poems.[1] It is more than likely that he was thinking of Tyrtaeus when he wrote his "Eunomia" and in fact wished to create an Attic counterpart to it, because on more than one occasion he takes express issue with earlier and contemporary poets. It is essential for our understanding of this first great Attic poet to realize that both Ionian and Doric thought were alive in him.

Besides Xenophanes, there is an Attic imitation of Tyrtaeus' poem. It is found in the Theognis collection (699-718);

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[1] Solon, Frg. 3, 8 D. Sol. 1, 46 : φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος is modelled on Tyrt. 6, 14 ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι, with the help of *Iliad* 10, 244. Tyrt. 9,30 is also used in Sol. 19, 10. Formerly this insofar as it was noticed at all, used to be turned upside-down. The new Tyrtaeus (1, 15), also, is made use of in Solon 18, 2 : πείσεται ἡγεμόνι.

its spirit is that of the late fifth century. There is no possibility that it is the work of Theognis himself :

Πλήθει δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ μία γίγνεται ἥδε,
πλουτεῖν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν ὄφελος,
οὐδ' εἰ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχοις Ῥαδαμάνθυος αὐτοῦ,
πλείονα δ' εἰδείης Σισύφου Αἰολίδεω,
ὅστε καὶ ἐξ Ἀίδεω πολυϊδρείῃσιν ἀνῆλθεν
πείσας Περσεφόνην αἱμυλίοισι λόγοις,
ἤτε βροτοῖς παρέχει λήθην βλάπτουσα νόοιο —
ἄλλος δ' οὔπω τις τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο,
ὄντινα δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψῃ,
ἔλθῃ δ' ἐς σκιερὸν χῶρον ἀποφθιμένων,
κυανέας τε πύλας παραμείψεται, αἵτε θανόντων
ψυχὰς εἴργουσιν καίπερ ἀναινομένας.
ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ κεῖθεν πάλιν ἦλυθε Σίσυφος ἥρως
ἐς φάος ἠελίου σφῇσι πολυφροσύναις —
οὐδ' εἰ ψεύδεα μὲν ποιοῖς ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα
γλῶσσαν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν Νέστορος ἀντιθέου,
ὠκύτερος δ' εἴῃσθα πόδας ταχεῶν Ἁρπυιῶν
καὶ παίδων Βορέω, τῶν ἄφαρ εἰσὶ πόδες.
ἀλλὰ χρὴ πάντας γνώμην ταύτην καταθέσθαι,
ὡς πλοῦτος πλείστην πᾶσιν ἔχει δύναμιν.

To propose wealth as yet another arete, rather than ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη or σοφία and to praise it as the decisive or even as the only arete, seems like a poor joke to anyone who takes the word arete in a purely ethical sense. But, as we know, the early period did not understand arete in an ethical sense; for Greek feeling it makes no difference whether we speak of ἀγαθά or ἀρεταί in referring to beauty, health and wealth which are praised in the skolion. Tyrtaeus is imitated here not only in calling wealth the true arete which gives all the others their value, but also in the form of the antithesis,with its catalogue of the other aretai each embodied in a mythological example, with repetition of οὐδ' εἰ in lines 701 and 713. The poet has deliberately introduced some significant variations; the way in which he does this betrays a much later age. He too says : "And if thou wert nimbler of foot than the swift Harpies and the children of Boreas whose feet

are so prompt." Except for the addition of the Harpies, and the replacing of Boreas by his sons, this is the old agonal arete unchanged. But, significantly, the author places it at the end of his poem; Tyrtaeus features it first, for, as we can see in the archaic statues of running athletes, speed in the race is the very model of aristocratic arete. There is nothing aristocratic at all in the arete concept of the anonymous poet. The σωφροσύνη of Rhadamanthus is given first place in this imitation, and intellectual abilities predominate. The cleverness of Sisyphus is praised in an *excursus* ten lines long, telling how he flattered Persephone herself into letting him return again from the underworld; this leads to a mention of eloquence, next of kin to cleverness. Nestor is named as the mythical exemplar of the orator, not Adrastus as in Tyrtaeus. In imitation of Hesiod's famous lines, the task of eloquence is said to be the invention of lies which resemble the truth, in other words, τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. The whole of this sophistic interpretation of arete with its intellectualism and materialism is the best modern foil for the ancient Tyrtaean model. It certainly makes it scarcely believable that anyone should have wanted to put the two in the same period.

If we now move from poetic imitations of Tyrtaeus' poems to its effects on Attic prose, we must speak first of Plato. In the *Laws* (1 629 A ff.) he cites the elegy as the classic record of the political tradition of Sparta. That is not merely a compliment to the two partners in the dialogue, the Spartan and the Cretan, but has deeper significance. One of the remarkable things about the late Plato is the way he descends from the world of ideas to the historical world of the Hellenic mind and the way the significant events in that tradition are, as it were, transformed into various levels of his spiritual cosmos. For Plato, Tyrtaeus' ideal of arete is a necessary but lowest step in the dialectical structure of the realm of human arete, since for Plato war is neither the goal of the state nor of education. The ideal of Theognis, δικαιοσύνη, which he cites against Tyrtaeus, is a higher level of culture. Plato defends it against the Spartan and his kinsman, the Cretan, and when he envisions what the poets in

the best state and the best paideia should be forced to teach the people, he thinks of it in the following way (*Laws* 2. 660 E): "You force your poets to say (says the Athenian to the two Dorians) that the truly noble man is selfcontrolled and just and therefore happy, no matter whether he is big and strong or small and weak and whether he is rich or not, and if he be richer than Cinyras or Midas, yet unjust, he is unhappy and leads a miserable life. Your poet says — if he speaks the truth —

Οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείην, ὃς μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῷτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ δηΐων τοιοῦτος ὢν ὀρέγοιτο ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενος, ἄδικος δὲ ὢν μήτε τολμῷ ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα μήτε νικῷ θέων Θρηίκιον Βορέην μήτε ἄλλο αὐτῷ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν γίγνοιτό ποτε. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμεν' ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται. ... ταῦτα δὴ λέγειν, οἶμαι, τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ποιητάς, ἅπερ ἐγώ, πείσετε καὶ ἀναγκάσετε.

The revaluation of the ἀρετή of the past goes on ; Plato really presents a prose counterpart to the poetic transformations of Tyrtaeus' maxims by Xenophanes and the anonymous poet of the Theognidian elegy (699 ff.). However in the warrior class Plato grants the Tyrtaean ideal a place in his state. It has not been previously noticed that already in the *Republic*, where Plato speaks of the soldier's ideal, there is a very clear reference to the poem of Tyrtaeus (465 D-466 A). Plato compares the honor which will be accorded to the warrior class in the best state to the honor given the Olympic victors; he wishes it to surpass the latter, since the soldier is more important for the state than the victor in the Olympic contests :

νίκην τε γὰρ νικῶσι συμπάσης πόλεως σωτηρίαν, τροφῇ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὅσων βίος δεῖται αὐτοί τε καὶ παῖδες καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γέρα δέχονται παρὰ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως ζῶντές τε καὶ τελευτήσαντες ταφῆς ἀξίας μετέχουσιν.

Even if the philosopher-kings rank above them, the soldiers nevertheless receive the honors which Tyrtaeus claimed for them. Thus Plato builds the Spartan concept into the 'just state', and thereby gives it a permanent function in the

history of human civilization, while at the same time stripping it of its monopoly.

But what position did the Tyrtaean ideal hold in the actual Attic state? It not only lived on in the political theory of certain pro-Spartan philosophers but also from the very beginning found a secure place in the city state of the victors of Marathon and Salamis. In the fifth century the Athenians also came to regard Tyrtaeus as the poet of manly citizenship and a new sober, enterprising heroism which inspired the champions of Attic imperialism. Political virtue, though a richer concept than in Tyrtaeus, does not lack now the element of ἀνδρεία; the later Platonic doctrine of four virtues is anticipated, in exactly the same terms, by Aeschylus, in a line of the "Seven Against Thebes" which Wilamowitz wrongly declared to be an interpolation [1] (610): σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνήρ. Political virtue continues to be called ἀγαθός as if it were still the simple arete of Tyrtaeus. In such formulas as ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος ἀπέθανεν, this oldest epic idiom still survived even in the classical period on the tombstones of fallen warriors and in the accounts of historians. To the extent that fifth century political ethics touches upon ἀνδρεία, it owes its form and its thought to Tyrtaeus' poetry. That can be shown for example in the epigram preserved in an inscription in the British Museum about the Athenians who fell in the siege of Potidaia (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca ex lapid. conl.*, n. 21, p. 8):

Αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώ[ματα δὲ χθὼν
τῶνδε, Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔδ[αμεν·
ἐχθρῶν δ' οἳ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, ο[ἱ δὲ φυγόντες
τεῖχος πιστοτάτην ἐλπίδ' ἔθεντο βίου.

Ἄνδρας μὲν πόλις ἥδε ποθεῖ καὶ δ[ῆμος Ἐρεχθέως,
πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας οἳ θάνον ἐμπρομάχοις
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων, ψυχὰς δ' ἀντίρρο[πα θέντες
ἠ[λλ]άξαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατ[ρίδ'] εὐκλ[έϊσαν.

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[1] Cf. my article "Platos Stellung im Aufbau der griechischen Bildung", *Antike* 4 (1928), 163. Wilamowitz retracted his athetesis in his last book, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin: 1931-32), I, 15, 1.

Thucydides (I 63) tells of the death of 150 Athenians and their commander, Callias, who lie buried in the Kerameikos. The first of the three epigrams is badly mutilated, only the first word ἀθανατομμε and the beginning of the pentameter, σημαινειν ἀρετ[ην, are legible. The "I" that calls itself immortal, according to Kaibel, is the monument; in any case the text expresses Tyrtaeus' concept (9, 29-32):

καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποισ' ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω,
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος.

The idea that while the body goes into the earth the soul goes into the air was quite widespread at the time of Euripides. However even if it replaced the Tyrtaean concept that the whole man lies under the earth, it still did not change the belief that the only immortality is that of fame. The soul as such, which disintegrates in the air, is without fame or name. In the third epigram the terminology is taken entirely from Tyrtaeus, and apparently from our poem: ἄνδρας... πόλις ἥδε ποθεῖ corresponds to Tyrtaeus 9, 28 ἀργαλέῳ τε πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις; οἳ θάνον ἐμπρομάχοις corresponds to Tyrtaeus 9, 23 ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών; the staking of ψυχαί corresponds to Tyrtaeus 9, 18; καὶ πατρίδ' εὐκλέϊσαν corresponds to Tyrtaeus 9, 24 ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλεΐσας (the same place within the line!).

Besides epitaphs, the Attic custom of funeral orations over those who have fallen in battle (Thuc. II 35) provided time and again occasion for proving the imperishable power of the ancient Tyrtaean ideal of the citizen who goes to war for his city. That almost all extant examples of this species belong to the fourth century is purely accidental. Funeral orations showed a particularly fixed tradition in form and thought, and even in the fifth century the Tyrtaean archetype did not remain unexploited. The modern type of encomium created by Sophistic rhetoric, the solemn praise of the dead, λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, was, it is true, much indebted to the formal patterns of the new prose speech, and paid

homage to the locale by enumerating the heroic deeds, mythical and historical, performed by Athenians of days long past. Witness the funeral orations of "Pericles," Gorgias, Lysias, Plato, Demosthenes and Hyperides. At the same time, however, praise, admonition and consolation, that is, all of the normative constituents of the funeral oration, are borrowed, often literally, from the ancient code of warriors, as it appears especially in the poems of Tyrtaeus. This process corresponds throughout to the general trend governing the beginnings of the new prose of the Sophists. The relation between the funeral orations and Tyrtaeus' elegy is the same as that between the prose exhortation of the type of Isocrates' Nicocles and the gnomic poetry of Phocylides and Theognis. The various species of epideictic prose developed out of the very poetry which they came to rival. I will illustrate this here in regard to Tyrtaeus. When Gorgias wrote in his epitaph (frg. 6 Diehls): τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασιν ζῇ οὐ ζώντων this is obviously a variation, playful to the point of being affected on the theme of Tyrtaeus' lines, 9, 28-33: ἀργαλέῳ τε πόθῳ —γίγνεται ἀθάνατος. Hyperides' Funeral Oration 3: ἄξιον... ἐπαινεῖν... τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκότας τῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ μὴ καταισχῦναι τὰς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς only says that the warrior has avoided what Tyrtaeus attributes to the coward (6, 9): αἰσχύνει τε γένος etc. In a later passage Hyperides lists the ἀγαθά which result from the heroic death of fallen warriors (24): ἆρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν εὐτυχεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόλειψιν ἀτυχεῖς νομιστέοι; οἵτινες θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο; this derives from Tyrtaeus 9, 32. Hyperides continues (27): διὰ τούτους πατέρες ἔνδοξοι μητέρες περίβλεπτοι τοῖς πολίταις γεγόνασιν, ἀδελφαὶ... παῖδες ἐφόδιον εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀπολωλότων ἀρετὴν... ἔξουσιν. This corresponds to Tyrtaeus 9, 29-30. And Hyperides (31): παρὰ ποίᾳ δὲ τῶν ἡλικιῶν οὐ μακαριστοὶ γενήσονται; πότερον οὐ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις... παρὰ τοῖς ἡλικιώταις... παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις. This is based on Tyrtaeus 9, 27 and 9, 41: ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες, ὁμῶς νέοι οἵ τε κατ' αὐτὸν... οἵ τε παλαιότεροι.

When Hyperides says in the same context: τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ἔδωκαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, he is using ψυχαί in its epic sense of "life," as it is used by Tyrtaeus 9, 18 and 6, 14: ψυχὴν καὶ θυμόν... παρθέμενος, ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.

Let as now quote from Lysias' funeral oration, Section 25, which transposes Tyrtaeus 7 into prose: ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἀφειδήσαντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ φιλοψυχήσαντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι ἢ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κίνδυνον φοβούμενοι. The author here applies to the warriors at Marathon the ἔπαινος ἀρετῆς which he has taken from the ancient elegy.[1] It is precisely the beautiful word, φιλοψυχεῖν which, aside from Tyrtaeus 7, 18, appears only in texts directly influenced by him which Wilamowitz claimed to be late. But lexical statistics are no help here. The word must in fact be older, for ψυχή = life had already vanished from the language of everyday life in the fifth century, and when it does occur it is always part of a special context, elevated in style and tone. Herodotus (VI 29) says of Histiaeus who is about to be cut down in his flight: φιλοψυχίην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται. Here the noun is used as if it was thoroughly accepted. The funeral oration of Lysias takes the word from Tyrtaeus just as it transforms another well known

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[1] To be accurate, Lysias here paraphrases Tyrtaeus 6 and 7. It was Heinrich, Wilamowitz, Jacoby, Diehl, who were responsible for declaring them to be two separate brief elegies; Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 107, cites them as one poem. Lysias connects the end of fr. 6 with the beginning of fr. 7 in the correct sequence (ἀφειδήσαντες ~ Tyrt. 6, 14, φιλοψυχήσαντες ~ 18). No doubt, like Lycurgus, he read the two passages as one poem. Shame in the face of the laws is an echo of Tyrtaeus 6, 3 ff.; lack of fear before the enemy is a reminder of Tyrtaeus 7, 16 ff. The chief objection against the authenticity of the poem is the shift from first to the second person plural, but this is a phenomenon which Tyrtaeus could find in Homer, in the most famous of all addresses by a general; and in Thucydides it occurs in several such speeches. That there is something awkward about the brief elegiac poems, cannot be denied. The transition from "let us die" to "O youths, fight" is often encountered in exhortations, including Christian sermons. And so the only remaining obstacle to the unity of the poem is — reason, than which nothing is more inexorable.

poetic phrase, i.e., the lines from Hesiod's *Works and Days* (276 ff), § 19:

> τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
> ἐσθέμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς·
> ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
> γίγνεται...

The forefathers of the Athenians, Lysias says, had introduced democracy,

νόμῳ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζοντες, ἡγησάμενοι θηρίων μὲν ἔργον εἶναι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν νόμῳ μὲν ὁρίσαι τὸ δίκαιον κτλ.

I shall not attempt here to collect all the literary echoes of this kind in the funeral oration, particularly since I hope some day to make a special study of the speech. The word φιλοψυχεῖν, used in this context, makes it certain that section 25 is modelled on Tyrtaeus. A similar situation may be demonstrated in Euripides' "Hecuba," 311 ff.:

> οὔκουν τόδ' αἰσχρὸν εἰ βλέποντι μὲν φίλῳ
> χρώμεσθ', ἐπεὶ δ' ὄλωλε, μὴ χρώμεσθ' ἔτι;
> εἶεν· τί δῆτ' ἐρεῖ τις (!), ἤν ποτ' αὖ φανῇ
> στρατοῦ τ' ἄθροισις πολεμίων τ' ἀγωνία;
> πότερα μαχούμεθ' ἢ φιλοψυχήσομεν;
> καὶ μὴν ἔμοιγε ζῶντι μέν, καθ' ἡμέραν
> κεἰ σμίκρ' ἔχοιμι, πάντ' ἂν ἀρκούντως ἔχοι·
> τύμβον δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ἀξιούμενον
> τὸν ἐμὸν ὁρᾶσθαι. διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ χάρις.

What could a future Tyrtaeus say at the outbreak of a new war to reconcile man to the thought of death, if even the memory of the greatest hero, Achilles, and his grave mound are not revered! If this is so, should we not rather be in love with life, φιλοψυχήσομεν, rather than fight? Euripides also applies the word in connection with a possible future exhortation to courage, προτρεπτικὸς λόγος πρὸς ἀνδρείαν here projected into the future; he is using a well-known model, and there are many other occasions on which he is

full of echoes of earlier poetry. Thus we have shown that the 6th and 7th poems of Tyrtaeus were well-known elegies at the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries; allusions could be made to them as to Hesiod's *Works and Days* with the certainty that they would be understood by the widest Athenian public.

In tracing specific ideas and words of Tyrtaeus in the Attic funeral orations, we have been less than expeditious; this was only natural considering the magnitude of the debt linking this kind of oratory with its model. Is there, beyond Plato's *Laws*, any further evidence of an influence exerted by Tyrtaeus' poetry as a whole and by its thought structure? I should not like to make any such claim categorically; the reliable evidence comes to an end with the disappearance of the Attic city-state. Tyrtaeus continues to be quoted in the ethical doctrine of the Stoics, as is proved by the example of Chrysippus. But I do not know of a specific echo of our poem, although it was unlikely to have been entirely forgotten. But in the thinking of early Christianity, strange to say, something very similar emerges. I will end this study of the history of a poem, already far too long, with a brief discussion of it. The apostle Paul wrote to the Christian community in Corinth, a state within a state, which had to be "edified," i.e., literally, constructed like an edifice, so that its members would join together to form an organized whole. There was a strife among them about the spiritual gifts of grace, the χαρίσματα, and the hierarchical order of these gifts in the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ. In his first Letter to the Corinthians the apostle told the disunited community the story of the members of the human body which fought against each other, each of them believing itself to be the most honorable and the most essential. The tale is ultimately derived from an old exhortation to unity, λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν, which had its origin in the political teaching of the Sophists. Livy puts it in the mouth of Menenius Agrippa at the secession of the plebs (*secessio plebis in montem sacrum*); Livy or his authority took it from a Greek source. Where Paul may have found it is of no importance, for its Greek origin is clear. The education of the great

Hellenistic Jew encompasses much that was Greek, but he succeeds in fusing it with his Jewish creed. In the next chapter, which is very famous (I Cor. 13) he gives us the "Hymn to Love," which is also an answer to the problem raised by the strife in the Corinthian community: which is the most eminent of spiritual gifts? The analogy of this Christian debate with the Greek debate concerning the highest arete is obvious; the charismata, the gifts of tongues, prophecy, gnosis are, after all, a kind of early Christian counterpart to the aretai of the aristocratic ethics of archaic Greece. Although the concept of arete is in general foreign to the thought and the language of Paul, the hymn in praise of love or charity (agape) springs from a similar inner situation, for agape is higher than all individual charismata about which the excited and ambitious community was quarrelling:

Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.

καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν,

κἂν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδέν εἰμι.

κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθήσομαι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.

(I Cor. 13 : 1-3)

I should think it unlikely that anyone, in reading these magnificent lines, has ever thought of Tyrtaeus, so great is the distance that lies between his world and that of Paul. And yet, after the journey we have made, the extraordinary similarity of form is striking. "Even if he were as swift as Boreas, as huge and strong as the Cyclops, even if he were richer than Midas or Cinyras, more beautiful than Tithonus, even if he were as great a King as Pelops, as persuasive a speaker as Adrastus, even if he were famed for every excellence but lacked warlike prowess — he would not deserve to have his praises sung or called to memory." Not only are individual words here similar, for example: κἂν ἔχω πᾶσαν

τὴν πίστιν... ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω compare this with οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς, but there is the same sustained crescendo of the repeated "'even if," and the same emphatic negation: οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείην; compare οὐδέν εἰμι, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι. Here, too, the likeness in form is a clue to the fact that a new understanding of Christian piety, with love as the highest of the Christian virtues, is defying the traditional assumptions. The elevation of love is a fruit of the struggle for the building of the new Christian society; in the spirit of Tyrtaeus, Xenophanes and Plato, it could be said that it is the highest virtue, because it is a greater κοινὸν ἀγαθόν for the congregation than the gift of tongues and gnosis and even prophecy.

The problem raised by this formal correspondence to Greek precedents cannot be solved by philological methods, since the evidence does not go far enough for us to say with any certainty that any relation existed, beyond the fact that the intellectual situations were similar. While the Greek poets copied each other knowingly, it is best to assume that Paul produces a spontaneous rebirth of thought, which would explain the formal analogies. It is of course not improbable that Paul knew the Greek Anthology from school, where, in Paul's days as much as in classical times, the poet continued to be read. Another possibility is that the basic elements of the Greek prototype had, in a general way, entered into the popular philosophy of the Hellenistic age, and its sermons περὶ ἀρετῆς. From these Paul may have taken his model; they certainly were his source for the tale about the body and its quarrelling members (I Cor. 12). In any case it is significant that the rule of the noblest of the new values which Christianity added to the store of ancient wisdom, was formulated in a fashion thoroughly congenial to the Greek way of thinking. Thus it took its place in the history of the Hellenic idea of arete. To fit a Christian concept into such a frame is, to be sure, at the same time to transcend it; and yet this integration into the ancient tradition is of great importance for the later doctrine of Christian virtues which saw the synthesis of the ancient ideal of arete with Christian ethics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WERNER JAEGER

Prepared by

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The following list of Werner Jaeger's publications is largely based on the bibliography published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 63, 1958, pp. 1-14. This bibliography reproduced an informal list kept by Jaeger himself in which he entered each item as it came in. Although this original list was generally accurate, there were some errors and omissions which have been corrected below. In addition, within each year the customary order of listing first books, then articles, and finally reviews has been introduced, with the brief reports about the progress of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* concluding the bibliography of each year from 1925 to 1936. For books the number of pages has been given, and for each article or review reprinted in the *Scripta Minora* and the second edition of *Humanistische Reden und Vorträge* (both published in 1960) this reference has been added. The bibliography below shares this latter feature with the list published by Marianne Ebert in the pamphlet of Wolfgang Schadewaldt, *Gedenkrede auf Werner Jaeger 1888-1961*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1963, pp. 25-39. (The obituary itself is reprinted from *Schweizer Monatshefte*, 42, 1962, pp. 755-769). Otherwise Miss Ebert follows the bibliography of 1958, including its arrangement, with only a few corrections, but bringing it up to 1961.

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Die asketisch-mystische Theologie des Gregor von Nyssa, pp. 266-286.

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Postumous publications

1962

Gregorii Nysseni Opera, ed. W. Jaeger †, V : *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, *In Sextum Psalmum*, ed. Jacobus McDonough, S. J.; *In Ecclesiasten Homiliae*, ed. Paulus Alexander. Leiden, E. J. Brill. IX + 454 pp.

1963

Das frühe Christentum und die griechische Bildung (German version by Walther Eltester). Berlin, Walter de Gruyter. VII + 127 pp.

1965

Scheduled to appear :

Gregor von Nyssas Lehre vom Heiligen Geist, to be edited by Hermann Dörries. Leiden, E. J. Brill.

"We say in the *Phaedo*," in: *Wolfson Jubilee Volumes*, New York, American Academy for Jewish Research.

In addition, Werner Jaeger edited the series *Neue philologische Untersuchungen* founded by him of which he published eleven volumes from 1926 to 1937 (Berlin, Weidmann); he also founded the periodical *Die Antike* in 1925 and edited its first twelve volumes (1925-1936).

THE EDITION OF GREGORY OF NYSSA
(as of January 1, 1965)

Professor Hermann Langerbeck, who succeeded Werner Jaeger as editor-in-chief of Gregory of Nyssa, died on February 16, 1964. Although seriously handicapped by ill-health, he furthered the great undertaking immeasurably in the critical two and a half years left to him after Jaeger's passing. The introductions of the volumes presently in proof will reveal to a certain extent the crucial part which he had in their preparation. In addition, work on the two index volumes was started on his initiative.

The continuation of the edition will be in the hands of Professor Langerbeck's collaborator Dr. Hadwig Hörner and of Professor Heinrich Dörrie. Dr. Hörner will be in charge of the volumes to be published with the support of Harvard University and the Bollingen Foundation (vols. III, 2, IV, and IX), whereas Professor Dörrie will be responsible for the volumes sponsored by the Patristische Kommission der Akademien der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Heidelberg, Mainz und München (vols. X, Supplement, Indices [2 vols.]). For vol. VII, 2 its editor, Professor John F. Callahan, as heretofore remains solely responsible.

The following detailed plan of the edition is based on information kindly supplied by the late Professor Langerbeck and brought up to date by Dr. Hadwig Hörner whom I wish to thank most warmly.[1]

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[1] For the first edition of vols. I and II see above 1921. Vol. VIII, 2 first appeared under the following title :

Gregorii Nysseni Opera. Vol. VIII, 2 : *Epistulae,* ed. G. Pasquali. Berlin, Weidmann, 1925. LXXXII + 94 pp.

GREGORII NYSSENI OPERA

Auxilio aliorum virorum doctorum edenda curavit

WERNERUS JAEGER

Leiden, E. J. Brill

vol. I : *Contra Eunomium libri.* Iteratis curis edidit Wernerus Jaeger. Pars prior : Liber I et II (Vulgo I et XIIb), 1960. XV + 409 pp.

vol. II : *Contra Eunomium libri.* Iteratis curis edidit Wernerus Jaeger. Pars altera : Liber III (Vulgo III-XII); *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* (Vulgo liber II), 1960. LXXII + 412 pp.

vol. III, 1 : *Opera Dogmatica Minora*, edidit Fridericus Müller: *Ad Eustathium De sancta trinitate, Ad Graecos* (*Ex communibus notionibus*), *Ad Ablabium Quod non sint tres dei, Ad Simplicium De fide, Adversus Arium et Sabellium De patre et filio, Adversus Macedonianos De spiritu sancto, Ad Theophilum Adversus Apolinaristas, Antirrheticus Adversus Apolinarium*, 1958, LXI + 235 pp.

vol. III, 2 : *Opera Dogmatica Minora : De infantibus praemature abreptis, De iis qui baptismum differunt, Epistula canonica ad Letoium Episcopum, De Pythonissa, Oratio catechetica, Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, edidit Hilda Polack; *Contra fatum*, edidit Jacobus McDonough S. J.; *In illud: Tunc et ipse filius*, edidit Josephus Kenneth Downing S. J. Ca. 400 pp. (in proof).

vol. IV : *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, edidit Hadwiga Hörner; *De opificio hominis*, ediderunt Hermannus Langerbeck † et Hadwiga Hörner; necnon Dionysii Exigui et Johannis

Scoti versiones huius operis Latinae, edidit Philippus Levine (in preparation).

vol. V : *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum, In Sextum Psalmum*, edidit Jacobus McDonough S. J.; *In Ecclesiasten Homiliae*, edidit Paulus Alexander, 1962. IX + 454 pp.

vol. VI : *In Canticum Canticorum*, edidit Hermannus Langerbeck, 1960. LXXXII + 492 pp.

vol. VII, 1 : *De vita Moysis*, edidit Herbertus Musurillo, 1964. XX + 145 pp.

vol. VII, 2 : *De oratione Dominica, De beatitudinibus*, edidit Johannes F. Callahan (manuscript now in the hands of Brill).

vol. VIII, 1 : *Opera Ascetica : De instituto Christiano, De professione Christiana, De perfectione*, edidit Wernerus Jaeger; *De virginitate*, edidit Johannes P. Cavarnos; *Vita S. Macrinae*, edidit Virginia Woods Callahan, 1952. VII + 416 pp.

vol. VIII, 2 : *Epistulae*, edidit Georgius Pasquali. Editio altera, 1959, XCI + 98 pp.

vol. IX : *Sermones*. Pars I : *De mortuis*, edidit G. Heil; *De pauperibus amandis oratio prima et altera*, edidit A. van Heck; *Contra usurarios, Contra fornicarios, In diem luminum, In Sanctum Pascha* (Vulgo : *In Christi resurrectionem* III), *De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi spatio* (Vulgo : *In Christi resurrectionem* I), *In Sanctum et Salutare Pascha* (Vulgo : *In Christi resurrectionem* IV), *In luciferam sanctam Domini resurrectionem* (Vulgo: *In Christi resurrectionem* V), *In ascensionem Christi, De deitate Adversus Euagrium* (Vulgo : *In suam ordinationem*), edidit E. Gebhardt; *Oratio funebris in Meletium Episcopum, Oratio consolatoria in funere Pulcheriae, Oratio funebris in Flacillam Imperatricem*, edidit A. Spira. Ca. 400 pp. (in proof).

vol. X : *Sermones*. Pars II : *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, edidit G. Heil; *De sancto Theodoro*, edidit J. P. Cavarnos; *In sanctum Ephraem*, edidit A. Spira; *In laudem Basilii fratris, In sanctum Stephanum oratio prima et altera, In XL martyres oratio prima et altera*, edidit O. Lendle; *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt; De spiritu sancto sive In*

Pentecosten, edidit N. N.; Gregorii quod fertur *De deitate filii et spiritus sancti*, edidit E. Rhein; *Sermones dubii*, edidit N. N. (in preparation).

Supplementum : Auctoris anonymi *Sermones de creatione hominis et de paradiso* (vulgo Gregorii vel Basilii quae feruntur orationes *In illud* : *Faciamus hominem* et *De paradiso*), edidit Hadwiga Hörner. Ca. 150 pp. (in proof).

Indices locorum, nominum, omnium verborum, codicum, auxilio aliorum virorum doctorum post Hermannum Langerbeck † Henricus Dörrie compilandos curavit. 2 volumina (in preparation).

PRINTED IN ITALY

BY L'IMPRONTA - SCANDICCI - FIRENZE

JULY 1966